

TAMING THE WINDS
IN ANTIQUITY
(1400 B.C.- 500 A.D.):
ICONOGRAPHY, CULT AND LITERATURE

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For Mario.

iam ver egelidos refert tepores,
iam caeli furor aequinoctialis
iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis.
linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi
Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae:
ad claras Asiae volemus urbes.
iam mens praetrepidans auct vagari,
iam laeti studio pedes vigescunt.
o dulces comitum valete coetus,
longe quos simul a domo profectos
diversae varie viae reportant.

- Catullus, XLVI.

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- Siân Williams, 3rd September, 1999.

PREFACE

A word or two on the text. Please note that meteorological winds will be referred to as ‘winds’ with a lower case *w*. Mythological Winds will be referred to as ‘Winds’ with a capital *W*.

All dates should be taken as B.C. unless otherwise stated.

All spellings have been Latinised: hence *Sokrates* now reads *Socrates*, *Alkaios* is now *Alcaeus*, and so on.

Finally, all quotations from ancient sources are given in English translation. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, this is a primarily a work on art history, and quotations are used in order to provide examples of the representations and motifs of Winds in literature; this is not a work based on linguistics. Generally, published art-historical works (see, for example, those by John Boardman, Brian Sparkes, Nigel Spivey, Robin Osborne, Vickers & Gill, etc.) use texts in translation for the convenience of the reader, usually assumed to be an informed layperson, and so the same assumptions are made here. The majority of translations are taken from the Loeb Classical Library series, unless stated otherwise. For those interested in referring to the original Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and Demotic, a bibliography of ancient sources and their translations may be found in Appendix 3.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Archaeological Museum.
AnM	Antikensammlung-Museen.
Ash	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
BM	British Museum, London.
CAGN	<i>Collected Ancient Greek Novels</i> , ed. B. P. Reardon, California, 1989.
CdM	Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.
CIMRM	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , ed. M. J. Vermaseren, The Hague.
FrAC	<i>Fragments of Attic Comedy</i> , tr./ed. J. M. Edmonds, Leiden, 1957-.
KH	Kunsthandel.
LM	Landesmuseen.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 8 vols., Zurich, 1982-1999.
MOFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
NAM	National Archaeological Museum.
NCG	Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen.
PEG	<i>Poetae Epici Graeci: testimonia et fragmenta</i> , ed. A. Bernabé, Leipzig.
PMG	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. M. Davies, Oxford.
SM	Sammlungmuseen.
StM	Staatliche-Museen.
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. B. Snell, Göttingen, 1971-.

1.0. Prolegomena.

“I would have an infinite chore if I wanted to discuss each and every wind.”

Seneca *Nat. Quae*. V.17.5.

Why should we want to undertake the study of ancient anemology and the cult and artistic representation of Wind-gods in Greek and Roman history? There are many reasons, both general and specific, with the over-riding factor being that the wind is an element that has evaded all of man's attempts to tame it successfully.

The wind is one of the forces of nature that man cannot control - we may be able to seed clouds to make or drive away the rain, but the wind remains stubbornly volatile, causing conditions that baffle meteorologists even today - boats can lie becalmed in port, yet five miles out to sea, a fierce gale can blow up and then just as quickly die down again. Wind can be destructive, causing waterspouts and tornadoes that will rip the hull of a ship apart as easily as it will plough through a stone-built house, yet it can also be enormously beneficial once harnessed, becoming quite literally the driving force of a community - we need only think of more modern examples such as the Aeolians of Scandinavia producing electricity, or the windmills of Europe that were relied upon for the production of flour. An understanding of the winds was necessary for the domination of the shipping lanes for trade or military purposes, even into the middle of the present century.

The ancient world was even more reliant upon the vagaries of the wind and weather. To a farmer, the unexpected rising of a wind, along with its associated effects of hail, snow or rain, could desiccate or freeze new shoots, causing the crop to fail (and this was a very real concern in places such as Methana in the Argolid, where rites were developed to combat such an occurrence - Pausanias II.34.3). Roman merchants loading their goods onto a ship were wise to take out insurance, even for a short trip across to the Cyclades in the central Aegean, as wrecking was (and continues to be) common at certain times of the year. But while there can be no doubt as to the importance of the wind as a weather phenomenon, bringing fair or foul weather to the farmer or merchant, it also has a more cultural impact on daily life, just as it does today.

Moving onto more mundane subjects, a casual glance through a trade journal for the automobile industry reveals that one well-known manufacturer has made it a policy to name their cars after winds, and a few of the more expensive sportscars also carry exotic and evocative names of local winds from the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. This is surely a ploy to invoke an image in the potential customer's mind: the wind is fast, powerful, ungovernable - just like their car. In the same vein, we find time and again in the ancient sources the reference to "wind-swift" horses: stallions likened to Boreas the North Wind for speed and stamina¹; the horses owned by Achilles were said to have been the offspring of Zephyrus the West Wind and the Harpy Podarge (*Iliad* XVI.148-152); and on two of the greatest temples in the ancient world, we see the Winds labelled as a team of galloping horses, drawing Hera (on the Parthenon; fig.65), or Hera and Hebe (the Great Altar of Pergamon; fig.66) to the rescue of Zeus in the battle of the Gods and Giants.

The Winds in the ancient world were so much more than this, too. They were agents of fertility and death; they were psychopomps; they were an integral part of the soul and its transmigration; they were responsible (in part) for disease and illness, and their cures; they stood as similes for the passions in literature, as they do today in popular music and poetry, and they were the subject of detailed meteorological study by philosophers from the Presocratics through to Seneca. They were seen as both individual autonomous deities, and as godlings under the control of Zeus, Hera, Poseidon or Aeolus. They had their own cults, temples and altars, yet were subsumed by the Olympian deities who were also considered responsible for the weather. They are represented in two forms - anthropomorphic and equine. Multiplied, they were the basis of the cosmic order in cults such as Orphism and Mithraism; yet in Classical mythology, only two Wind-gods have any specific myths attached to them: Boreas the North Wind and Zephyrus the West Wind.

In this thesis, I aim to collect together the extant evidence for the existence and purpose of the winds in the ancient world, both as deities and as a force of nature, and to examine the problems and differences that arise when meteorology contradicts mythology, and when art contradicts literature. A study of the Winds, like a study of

¹ For example, Bacchylides V.45 in *Anth. Pal.*, tr. W. Paton., Loeb, 1926.

any other anthropomorphised elemental power, will eventually have to face the relationship between a belief in the gods and a belief in science - are the two mutually exclusive, or could they merge? How deep is the belief in myth - on what levels was mythology read, literally or metaphorically? Indeed, what are the functions of myth, and how can this help us to reach an understanding of the more minor gods of ancient Greece and Rome?

It is perhaps worthwhile for us to pause here and consider the place of winds, meteorology and climatology for the modern audience, so that we may have a better understanding of the subject when we turn to our ancient sources. For reasons of space, this discussion will be found in Appendix 1, but in summary, the main points are as follows. All types of weather originate from the evaporation and precipitation of water vapour in the atmosphere, which forms several distinctive air masses that travel over the earth, causing warm and dry, or cold and damp, conditions. At the same time, the axial rotation of the earth causes the movement of winds, based upon the highest of atmospheric winds, the Westerlies. The winds move the air masses, also responding to the topography of the lands they travel over. This gives local conditions such as fallwinds and rain shadow zones in addition to the prevailing winds and climate of a region. The central Mediterranean and Aegean enjoy a temperate climate, with the prevailing wind from the north. In the winter months this is known as the bora, and in the summer, the meltemi. The African sirocco affects most of the southern shores of the north Mediterranean littoral, while localised winds such as the leukonotoi respond to atmospheric conditions and cannot be predicted beyond a range of months (autumn-spring). The climate of classical antiquity is not so far removed from our climate today, with a warmer and drier period bringing drought and famine for some years before 500 B.C., as may be seen in the Old Testament records such as Genesis XXXXI.29-57 or I. Kings XVI.29-XVIII. After 500 B.C., the earth entered the period known as the Sub-Atlantic, which is characterised by cooler and wetter weather. The ancients were aware of the changes taking place around them by the observation of plants and their growth habits, and believed that their climate was growing warmer. Cores of Arctic pack-ice, a reliable indicator of climate, proves the

opposite overall; although some unnaturally warm summers may have led the scientists astray. Thus, we may take current wind patterns as being the same as those in ancient times.

With the notion of the weather as explained in the Appendix in mind, it is time for us to address the question of how the ancients viewed the winds when personified as gods, and why they chose to portray them in this manner. Wind-gods are almost always depicted as winged men (exceptionally, they are portrayed as horses), and we shall examine the reason for this later (section 2.0 below); meanwhile, we shall direct our attention to the subject of myth itself, and more importantly, how myth was perceived in narrative art; for to understand fully the impact of the Wind-gods upon their audience, we must appreciate both the meanings of myth, and the role played by myth in narrative art.

1.1. The Use(s) of Myth.

For many years now, Classicists, social anthropologists, philosophers and theologians have been grappling with the concept of myth - what it embodies, what it imparts. This is not the place to begin a dialogue on the 'nature of myth', as other people have tried in vain to produce the definitive answer. For the purposes of this thesis, it is enough to determine (or attempt to determine) what use myth had for the peoples of ancient Greece and Rome, what their reactions were to mythology, what kind of meaning it had for them, so that we may trace the development of the myths attached to the Wind-gods.

Myth has been seen as a by-product or the basis of religion, depending upon whom we believe². It derives from the ritual of religious practice and complements it; myth is a collective tradition of oral stories from the past which explain causes, thus functioning as a form of aetiology; myth embodies national and local customs and identity. Myth can be used as entertainment or for teaching, may be serious or flippant. Once established, myths have a life of their own and develop as stories, in

² For the best overview of all the arguments related to myth, see M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925; *Greek Popular Religion*, New York, Columbia, 1940; G. Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925; W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, Bonn, 1929.

literary or artistic form, that may be altered by each successive writer or artist. The challenge is to find a new way of (re)interpreting the myth, as the great tragedians did with the myths they rewrote as plays. Myths also illustrate human relationships and demonstrate ways of coping with life in a way that may be termed 'popular belief'. Perhaps most importantly, myth is organic - it grows alongside the society or culture that spawned it, attracting new guises with each successive generation that patinates, but never covers, the original myth. An example of this phenomenon can be seen in the change in status of the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia, his reluctant Athenian bride, in the early fifth century. This particular myth is first recorded in art in the seventh century in Corinth (on the Chest of Cypselus, c.635 B.C.), and in literature in the sixth century (by Acusilaus of Argos, c.540 B.C.), but does not appear to have become popular until the Persian Wars. After the events of late summer 480 B.C., when several hundred Persian ships were wrecked by a surprisingly strong north-easterly wind, the Athenians gave thanks to Boreas and to his bride, Oreithuia, for remembering their marriage-bonds to Greece, and to Athens in particular³. Here is a myth pulled from relative obscurity (it has no basis in any of the early epics, apart from a brief mention in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, which is a third century B.C. version of a much older original, which means that the Boreas-Oreithuia episode may be a later addition) and catapulted almost to the forefront of Athenian interest, resulting in perhaps two plays by Aeschylus⁴, one by Sophocles⁵, and an ode by Simonides (*On the Sea-Fight Off Artemision*), numerous depictions on pottery and other media, and inclusion as acroterial sculpture on two major sanctuaries - the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, and the temple of the Athenians on Delos. As the memory of the wars faded, so too did the impact of the myth - but the added gloss of the Persian Wars would forever be part of the myth, and would thus colour its future interpretations - as may be seen in Roman literature, for example, Ovid's *Heroides* XVIII.39, where the poet plays with the idea of an Hellespontian storm (the kind that wrecked the Persian fleet), anthropomorphised as Boreas abducting Oreithuia, as a metaphor for the passion of Hero and Leander.

³ Hdt. VII.189.

⁴ A tragedy: *TrGF* III F 281, and possibly a satyr-play - see fig.40 and discussion below.

⁵ *TrGF* IV p.496.

Thus, myth constructs and reinvents itself by contamination - with new events, new experiences, and new horizons, as may be seen in the prayer offered to Zephyrus by the Hellenistic poet Dioscurides⁶. In this, the poet asks that the West Wind, “gentlest of winds”, should smooth the return of his lover Euphragus from a distant shore. Here we can see the development of Zephyrus from the ancient view of him as a wild and tempestuous wind⁷, to the concept of the West Wind as an agent of fertility and gentleness⁸, to this third level of reading the myth: Zephyrus as the wind who champions male homosexual love, such as exists between Dioscurides and Euphragus. Zephyrus’ relationship with the Spartan youth Hyacinthus, although seemingly but a visual artistic variant on the Apollo-Hyacinthus myth popular in the late Archaic-early Classical period, struck a chord in the collective psyche of the time and eventually passed into literature, as this is the first Wind-god myth we see in art before there is evidence for it in literature.

Myth is more than the sum of its parts. Plato described myth as a didactic tool⁹; Herodotus and Strabo used it for historical and geographical purposes¹⁰; the Presocratics used it to explain cosmology¹¹; the Sophists used it to rationalise their own philosophy¹²; and other writers used it to explain etymologies¹³. Myth also explained the inexplicable and irrational, which was perhaps its primary (and original) function: Dionysus of Halikarnassus wrote succinctly that myths demonstrated “the works of nature by means of allegory”¹⁴. A good example of this may be found on scene XVI of the Column of Marcus Aurelius¹⁵, which illustrates an event from Cassius Dio’s account of a battle between the Roman troops and the Quadi¹⁶; only a sudden rainstorm saved the Romans from disaster, and it was declared a miracle. The

⁶ *Anth. Pal.* XII.171, tr. W. Paton, Loeb, 1926.

⁷ *Iliad* XXIII.192ff.

⁸ *Orphic Hymn* 81.

⁹ *Pl., Laws* 810b-812a.

¹⁰ History: Solon and Croesus, *Hdt.* I.30ff; geography: the Hyperboreans, *IV.33ff.* Strabo, *Geographica* VII.3.1, quoting Sophocles’ lost *Oreithuia*.

¹¹ For example, Epicharmus of Syracuse in Axiopistus’ *Maxims*, frg. 53 in K. Freeman, *Ancilla to the Presocratic Philosophers*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1948: 39.

¹² See Socrates’ scathing comments on this in *Pl. Phaedrus* 229b.ff.

¹³ For example, Silius Italicus, *Punic Wars* VIII.513, on the name of the Sidicinum capital city Cales.

¹⁴ *Ant. Rom.* II.20.

¹⁵ See N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Aarhus University Press, 1988: 237-8.

¹⁶ Cassius Dio LXXII.8.2.

Column shows a rain-demon swooping low over the terrified enemy, miring them into the ground while the victorious Romans attack them from afar. The rain-demon has a remarkably good literary parallel in Ovid's description of the rainy South Wind, Notus, in his *Metamorphoses* I.262ff, and it is possible, indeed probable, that such a depiction was intentional.

We should also bear in mind the response of the ancients to myth, and the shifting attitudes to the reception of myth as the cultural impetus passed from Greece to Rome. Herodotus, described as a liar by Plutarch (*On the Malignity of Herodotus*) and indirectly castigated by Thucydides (at I.22), wears his own stories lightly, often expressing his own views. At VII.152 he explicitly states:

It is my principle that I ought to repeat what is said; but I am not bound always to believe it.

The implication being that neither should the reader always believe what is written. Strabo was of like mind, pouring scorn upon those who believed such nonsense as was written by men like Herodotus - *Geographica* VII.3.1 is but one example of his opinions in believing too heavily in myth and not in reality. Finally, Pausanias offers the view that, as a Romanised Greek, he found

these Greek stories [to be] rather silly, but now... I have decided to treat them from the point of view that the famous Greek wise men told their stories in riddles and not out of stupidity, so I conjectured that [myth is] a piece of Greek wisdom¹⁷.

As Rudhardt wrote,

Les documents ne nous permettent jamais de remonter dans le passé jusqu'à un phénomène premier: l'histoire expose l'évolution d'un usage ou d'une croyance, elle n'en élucide pas le sens¹⁸.

It is for the individual to decide what to make of myth and its relevance to his or her daily life within a specific society and age, and this applies in the modern era as well as in the ancient; and this is the approach we shall adopt whilst examining the Wind-gods of ancient Greece and Rome.

¹⁷ Paus. VIII.8.3.

¹⁸ J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Geneva, Librairie E. Droz, 1958: 4.

1.2. Myth and Narrative Art: a short evolutionary history.

Although we have looked briefly at literature so far, and will do so again in more depth later (section 4), our main focus is mainly art; so we must now turn to the important question of myth in art, primarily in Attic painted pottery, as this is our main source of evidence for Wind-gods. Much has been written on the relationship between myth and its representation in art¹⁹, and it is a theme far from being exhausted. The short summary that follows must suffice as a brief introduction to a vast topic, and is not intended to be a detailed account, rather a simple sketch to contextualise the periods that we will encounter. This will lead us on to the more specific questions of the perception of myth as told in narrative art.

When art first imitated (or parodied) literature, or at least the oral tradition on which it was based, it did so alongside scenes of narrative from daily life. From 750 B.C., the main subjects of the Geometric vessels included scenes of *prothesis* (laying out of the dead) and *ekphora* (funeral procession), complete with mourners and charioteers; others showed men at sea, or hunting or fighting. Tales from epic myth may be discerned on pieces such as the spouted krater in the British Museum²⁰, which may depict Paris abducting Helen or Theseus with Ariadne; we may also look at the oinochoe from the Athenian agora²¹ which shows a pair of Siamese Twins (probably the Actorione/Molione from *Iliad* XI.709-10, who were said by Hesiod to be joined together at the body); or the shipwreck represented on an oinochoe from Attica²², which could possibly illustrate the events of *Odyssey* XII.403ff.

By the time of the Orientalising period (725-600 B.C.), myth was a common subject for pottery-painters to turn to when illustrating their wares. Chief amongst the earlier examples is that of Odysseus blinding the Cyclops Polyphemus on a Proto-Attic

¹⁹ Leading the field are scholars such as T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1991; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants of Athens*, Mainz, Philip von Zabern, 1989; and A. M. Snodgrass, *Narrative and Allusion in Greek Art*, Oxford, Leopard's Head Press, 1982.

²⁰ London BM GR 1899.2-19.1, from Athens, 730-720 B.C. D. Williams, *Greek Vases*, London, British Museum Press, 1991.

²¹ Athens, Agora P 4885, c.730. B. B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art*, London, Phaidon, 1971.

²² Munich Antikensammlung 8696, *ibid*.

amphora²³ - was this image employed because the *Odyssey* was well-known and widespread as literature, or had it appeared visually because it was a popular oral tale? This amphora has no inscriptions to identify the protagonists, which implies that the viewer or patron would instantly be able to recognise the episode without recourse to such labelling. However, inscriptions come to the fore during the Archaic period (600-480 B.C.), when myth and epic tales grew more widespread after the scenes of animals and floral friezes inherited in the main from Corinthian pottery²⁴. No longer restricting themselves to one particular image or incident, painters now drew an entire cast of mythological characters on their ceramics, frequently naming each figure so that the central theme of the action could be placed in context; for example, the dinos signed by Sophilos of 580 B.C.²⁵ shows a procession of gods and goddesses, making their way to join the wedding-celebrations of Peleus and Thetis, or the Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Timiades Painter²⁶, showing the sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolemus.

The end of the Archaic period saw a return to the single image, for example, the neck-amphora by Exekias of 540-530 B.C., showing Achilles killing the Amazon queen Penthesilea²⁷; this was to continue throughout the Classical period, although by the fourth century, new techniques in the depiction of narrative placed less emphasis on the formal treatment of the characters standing on a base-line, but allowed the positioning of figures at any point in the field of the scene - for example, the Birth of Erichthonius on a calyx-crater, c.400 B.C.²⁸.

1.3. Perceptions of Myth in Narrative Art.

The greatest problem the scholar must face when dealing with images on pottery is the question of reception. We may make an educated guess at reading the

²³ From Eleusis, c.650. R. Osborne, "Death Revisited, Death Revised: The Death of the Artist in Archaic and Classical Greece", *Art History* 11 (1988): 1-16.

²⁴ Figural scenes did feature on Corinthian pottery, but they were influenced by Near Eastern motifs such as the Master/Mistress of the Animals, or the *kniebenlauf* winged *daimones*, which we shall look at briefly later on.

²⁵ London, BM GR.1971.11-1.1; T. H. Carpenter, *supra* n.19.

²⁶ 570-560 B.C.; London, BM GR.1897.7-27.2; T. H. Carpenter, *ibid*.

²⁷ London, BM B210; D. Williams, *supra* n.20.

²⁸ Richmond, Virginia Museum 81.70; T. H. Carpenter, *supra* n.19.

images on a temple or public building, as these were designed to communicate or impress certain statements upon the people, statements that spoke in mythological terms although their meanings were considered both timeless and specific; for example, the gigantomachy and Amazonomachy of the Parthenon not only reflect the myths of such events, they refer to all battles that the Greeks fought against their foreign enemies and, to the mid-fifth century viewer, it would be reminiscent of the Persian Wars. Francis quotes Hughes' comments on medieval art, saying that, in his opinion, fifth-century Athens was of like mind:

[Works of public art] whose message to us has no more reality than a fairy tale [could] acquire for the audience of their time the force of history and the augury of revelation. [Public art] made legends tangible and credible, inserting them unconditionally into the lives of their audience, compelling belief and [directing] behaviour. That was what public art has always been meant to do²⁹.

It is doubtless that this was indeed the case; myth, by its antiquity, had already acquired the 'force of history' - it was in its mode of display that it impressed its message on the masses. The splendid public buildings of the Peisistratids, and those of the Periklean administration, showed Athens as a powerful *polis*, with equally powerful leaders/parties governing her. The myths chosen to adorn the buildings were selected to add to this impression, showing heroes like Theseus and Hercules, tales from epic like the Destruction of Troy, and myths such as the Birth of Athena or the battle for Athens between Poseidon and Athena.

These myths and legends were already part of the public psyche, as the ancient world, like the medieval world, was one driven by religion and religious practice - everyone knew *of* the myths, even if they could not discuss them in depth. There was no real need to 'compel belief', as they believed anyway - at least to some extent³⁰. As for 'directing behaviour', this is also a very real concept that still exists (perhaps more so) today. The power of the images should never be underestimated. Little wonder, then, that Plato saw danger in the free expression of public art, and suggested that it

²⁹ R. Hughes, *The Shock of the New*, London, 1980: 367, in E. D. Francis, *Image and Idea in Fifth Century Greece*, London, Routledge, 1990: 24.

³⁰ See P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, tr. P. Wissing, University of Chicago Press, 1988.

should be legislated ^{for} by the state³¹ so that no contamination from one individual's thinking could influence the entire city.

Yet this only applies to the monumental pieces, the temples and treasuries; what of the so-called 'minor' arts, especially pottery? Here are utilitarian vessels, produced for the home, the grave, or the sanctuary, and covered with specific images - but why? As Sparkes begs the questions, so shall we:

What and who are [these images of]? What and whom were they for? What prompted the choice of subjects? What connections were there between the myths presented in the images and those handed down in literature? Why is one episode popular here and now and not there and then? At what level would a Greek have understood these images? How knowledgeable should we imagine him/her to have been? Were the images merely decorative or was there some deeper meaning to them that would have been understood by the people of the time...?³²

Given the popularity of mythological subjects on pottery, it would be wise to ask why the painters chose to develop such themes. The reasons are many and varied - the simplest being that the painters enjoyed depicting a particular image and continued to work at it, for example, the Niobid Painter's liking for chase/rape sequences (see below)³³ - but the main points are as follows below.

(i) Reception.

We could say that the painter painted the image because the public wanted to buy it, but this statement is fraught with complications. Is the impetus to produce these images with the painter, or with the patron? Are they, in other words, pieces on a commission? Who is the painter, and where do his (or her) ideas come from? Equally as important (or more so, in fact), who was the viewer/patron? We can agree with Carpenter that

vase-painters were neither theologians nor philosophers, not literary critics nor art-historians... they were artisans who surely intended the

³¹ Pl., *Laws* 664a, 798-9, 800-802; *Rep.* 423-4.

³² B. A. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black*, London, Routledge, 1996: 115.

³³ This continues today; even the most technically-accomplished artist will draw their favourite subjects over and over again in many guises. See, for example, the 'buxom babes' of Adam Warren, or the beautiful men of Ryoichi Ikegami in comic-book art.

imagery of their pictures (when they thought about it) to be accessible to the potential buyers³⁴.

While inspiration for the painter may have derived from a number of sources - real life, the imagination, the shape of the vessel (all discussed below) - identifying the painter is a difficult matter. Less than 1% of extant pots name their creator, and as craftsmen were “not worthy of serious regard” in ancient times³⁵, we can never know their intentions through their art. Indeed, even their names are suspect - the various misspellings of *Phintias*, *Memnon* and *Pamphaios* may be indicative of a society where literacy was still in its infancy, but equally may point to the copying of a design from another source, with the ‘signature’ also copied wholesale³⁶ - and if this is the case, we are left with anonymous artists. Indeed, even if this was so, did the Greeks search for a link between the artist and his art - or is our view obscured by the reliance we have upon Beazley’s system of attribution?

The intended patron of the pot is even more obscure. We know that painted pottery, no matter how fine, was cheap³⁷, inexpensive enough for the average worker to buy it. Poor people presumably used coarse clay vessels, or pieces made of wood; the very rich would possibly use gold and silver plate. Or would they? Part of a family’s wealth would lie in the plate they owned, and precious metal is valued in terms of weight. Over-use of such plate for everyday dining would result in the minute loss of the metal each time the vessels were cleaned, so does this mean that the rich employed ceramic tableware whenever they were not entertaining? The written record is frustratingly silent on such matters - we can only hypothesise.

Sometimes we know who the final viewers of the pots were intended to be. Symposium vessels would be seen by men and by *hetairae*; domestic items such as the *onos* or *pyxis* were meant for the woman of the house, a wife or mother - yet were (probably) purchased by a man, as the *kurios* would not allow a decent and respectable Athenian woman to venture out-of-doors³⁸. This would give us a piece of pottery

³⁴ T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986: xvi.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* II (153); cf. Lucian, *Somnium* 6-9.

³⁶ M. Vickers and D. W. J. Gill, *Artful Crafts*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994: p.164.

³⁷ Ibid; ch.2, pp.33-54.

³⁸ Although it is evident that some women did: poorer women sold things at the market, and women would need to go out to visit family, attend funerals, or tend graves.

depicting a woman's scene such as weaving, painted by a man (possibly), purchased by a man (possibly), and given as a gift to a woman (possibly).

While we look for our potters, painters, and patrons, we are unlikely to ever find them, due to the paucity of the sources. Yet does this impede our own viewing and understanding of the images? In certain respects, yes - the art-market especially likes to compartmentalise and give names to painters, and if we knew who the patrons were, we would not have to advance so many theories of interpretation - yet even if we did know the patrons, then we would have to hypothesise why it was this patron and not another. Answers beget questions; and so our questions perforce must avoid discussion of painters and patrons, and instead concentrate on what is solid and not hypothetical: the images on the pots themselves.

(ii) Shape and Use of Vessels.

Pottery was made to be used. It was functional and it was (relatively) cheap³⁹, and when it left the marketplace it ultimately went to one (or more, depending upon its shape) of several possible homes: the grave, the sanctuary, the palaestra, for business, for trade, or for the symposium. Specific shapes were developed for different tasks - lekythoi for the grave; loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi for the young bride; onoi, spindle-whorls and pyxides for the women; kettles, hydria, buckets and pithoi for domestic culinary use; amphorae for trade purposes; water-clocks and measures for state business; alabastra and aryballoi for perfume and oil; and cups, stamnoi, kraters and amphorae for the symposium. Often, a vessel used in one context, for example, the home, would then be deposited either in a sanctuary or grave - some pieces were carefully mended before their rededication⁴⁰. Many of the scenes on these vessels reflect the use to which they were put - Erotes and women on a pyxis, for example⁴¹, or a mourning woman at the tomb on a white-ground lekythos⁴², and scenes of revelry for the symposium on a cup⁴³, while there are more explicitly mythological scenes that

³⁹ See M. Vickers and D. W. J. Gill, *supra* n.36, for the contentious debate.

⁴⁰ B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32; p.80.

⁴¹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 302 (V 551); M. Vickers, *Greek Vases*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1991.

⁴² London, BM D 73; D. Williams, *supra* n.20.

⁴³ Berlin Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen F2298; D. Williams, *ibid*.

also may have relevance to the shape thus decorated - for example, the Alcestis scene on an Athenian onos from Eretria⁴⁴, which superficially shows Alcestis preparing for her wedding to Admetos⁴⁵, accompanied by her friends and by personifications of Love, Desire, Youth, etc. On a deeper level, this particular scene on this particular object has, potentially, another meaning - Alcestis symbolises the young bride who received this onos, and the myth implicit by the depiction of this image serves to underline the place of the new wife in the household of, and in relation to, her husband.

Painted pottery ostensibly for domestic use, like the hydria or amphora, cannot possibly have been employed for fear of breakage - despite information that suggests that pottery was inexpensive - and indeed, there is plenty of evidence to show that the more sturdy coarseware or bronze vessels were used for such tasks instead⁴⁶. While Hoffmann has claimed that the painted pieces belong firmly in the context of the grave, and were probably made for this purpose⁴⁷, it is not a conclusive argument, as they are also found in both sanctuary and domestic contexts. Mythological scenes abound on such pots, as they do on the vessels for symposia, so clearly there is much more to the chosen subject-matter than the shape and intended use of the vessel. This brings us to the problem of the interpretation of the scenes.

(iii) Interpretations.

The question of interpretation is one unlikely to ever meet with the full agreement of all scholars. The most contentious issues revolve around the modern audience's need to peel away successive layers of possible meanings to get at the heart of the image and its message; but how far do we need to look for these 'deeper levels'? How many assumptions can we safely make about the relevance of a painted scene to the operation of society or people's beliefs? Using the Alcestis onos as an

⁴⁴ Athens NM 1629; see B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32; fig. III.4.

⁴⁵ See Euripides, *Alcestis* for the story; Admetos can have his own life extended if someone will take his place. His parents refuse, so his wife Alcestis elects to die in his stead, as a good wife should.

⁴⁶ B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32; p.158, cf. fig. III.10.

⁴⁷ For the "creation of immortality". H. Hoffmann, "The Riddle of the Sphinx: a case study in Athenian immortality symbolism", in I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, CUP, 1994: 71-80; p.71.

example, can we really identify her as symbolising the bride who received the onos, or is this making a jump in interpretation that would not have been the case in fifth century Greece? Would the bride and/or her husband have understood the image as a way of defining the place of the woman in society?

These problems can be dealt with in three ways. One method is to assume that the ancients saw nothing but a pleasing picture on their pottery and so purchased it for aesthetic reasons, leading to a multitude of such images being painted as the subject became popular. The second way is to attempt to read every possible meaning embodied by the image, and to relate it to the social and political mores of the time. The third way is to tread a fine line between the other two methods, and to accept that all theories are mere hypothesis, and therefore subject to debate.

Interpretations of pottery-painting can be subdivided into four categories: social, historical/political, literary, and religious interpretations, some of which may overlap with the shape and use of a vessel, as seen above, or may overlap between categories.

a) social interpretation.

Here, scenes such as the Alcestis onos mentioned above may be seen to emphasise the correct social order - the woman in the home, or the ephebe beginning his training, and so on - and they also symbolise accepted social norms. A good illustration of this is the prevalence of the chase/rape sequence discussed in some detail by Sourvinou-Inwood⁴⁸, which is exemplified by several of the Boreas-Oreithuia scenes (see figs. 20-26; it was a favourite genre of the Niobid Painter). In these depictions, the concept of the unwilling bride/beloved is explored. Kaempf-Dimitriadou records nearly four hundred instances of such scenes involving gods and mortals⁴⁹, but there are plenty more dealing with heroes and women, or anonymous huntsmen/ephebes and girls (see Sourvinou-Inwood for examples). Kaempf-Dimitriadou can offer no explanation for why such scenes suddenly became popular,

⁴⁸ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings", *JHS* 97 (1987): 131-153; also published under the same title in her book *'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991: 58-98.

⁴⁹ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Christus*, Basel, 1979.

particularly around the middle of the fifth century, and puts it down to a “yearning for the divine”⁵⁰, while Keuls prefers to see it as a symbol of the aggressive male domination of the passive and subjugated female⁵¹, and while we may concur that these scenes could indeed represent a ‘rite of passage’⁵² such as the transition from maiden to mother, youth to man, the living to the dead, we can read them in other ways too. With subjects such as Boreas and Oreithuia, Zeus and Aegina, or Theseus and an anonymous woman, the images do tend to slip out of the social category and into that of the political (see below); but overall, it is probably best to judge all of the chase/rape sequences as a barometer of the peculiar social construct of the time, as we shall see.

The Persian Wars were over, the enemy defeated and at bay on the other side of the Aegean, and Athens was a *polis* on its way up. It had wealth and power, which would increase dramatically until the Peloponnesian War, and it is likely that in this new, relaxed and victorious attitude, social conventions underwent a change. While women were still regarded as possessions in their husbands’ home, a subtle shift may have occurred as a result of the Persian Wars. In any military action, particularly one as serious as the invasion of Greece, thousands of lives will have been lost⁵³. The majority of the dead will have been men. As a consequence, it may have been felt by successive generations that women at this time had acted beyond their given social position due to the lack of a strong or suitable *kurios*, and so they needed reminding of their position⁵⁴. It is often the case that art imitates real life, hence the sudden

⁵⁰ Ibid, in E. C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, University of California Press, 1985; p.52.

⁵¹ Ibid; p.47-55.

⁵² B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32; p.136.

⁵³ Accurate figures are difficult to determine. Herodotus claims the loss of 192 Athenians to a staggering 6,400 Persians after the battle of Marathon (VI.117). For the size of the Greek fleet, Herodotus gives 380 triremes (VIII.84), while Thucydides rounds it up to 400 (I.74), stating that Athens alone had provided ‘two-thirds’ of the Greek navy. If, as Herodotus reports, the Athenians lost half of their ships at Artemision (VIII.20), this would suggest the loss of at least 90 ships, and with each trireme carrying 200 men, it would also mean the loss of some 18,000 men - just from Athens and Attica alone. The figures were probably much higher.

⁵⁴ We can always look to the women of Aeschylus, especially Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, to the *Bacchae* of Euripides and to Aristophanes’ later plays *Lysistrata* and *Ekklesiazusae*, and the depiction of women through the eyes of a man in *Thesmophoriazusae*, to see the concerns of Athenian men if their women were allowed to do as they wanted, unchecked. Compare also the compulsion/revulsion effect that female figures like Amazons had for the male-oriented Athenian society.

explosion of mythological and non-mythological scenes featuring the pursuit of the female (who is outside the safety of her *oikos* and thus deserves what's coming to her) with the intention to rape, which may (or may not) end with the social sanction of marriage. Certainly marriage is implied by the oft-repeated gesture known as *anakalypsis* (see below), although sexual union and gratification (at least for the male) is just as implicit.

Dover suggests that a change in sexual standards at around 460-450 does seem to be taking place, as there is a gradual (but not entire) shift away from the predominance of explicit or erotic homosexual images on pottery to that of heterosexual representations⁵⁵. While the Archaic period boasted hundreds of images of men with youths, by the dawning of the Classical era, these exchanges are frequently now between god and mortal - Zeus and Ganymede, Poseidon and Pelops, Apollo and Hyacinthus - and even these are a little thin on the ground after 470. There seems to be a correlation between the growth of erotic literature and the lessening in output of erotic scenes that depict homosexual acts, and although this may be simply coincidental, it could be related to the complex laws of *hubris* (see below, n.244), or again, it may reflect the emphasis by society to place men and women back into their 'proper' roles, relegating the pursuit of the beautiful boy by an insistence upon the expected norms of Athenian society - marriage and the production of a family - as laid down by Pericles' citizenship laws of 451, thus ensuring a nation of 'true' Athenians of acceptable parentage.

(b) historical/political interpretation.

In recent years, it has been suggested that Athenian politics influenced, to an extent, the choice of myth represented in art. This area is an academic minefield, with some strong arguments for both sides⁵⁶, and while such influence cannot be denied, in

⁵⁵ K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, London, Duckworth, 1978; p.8.

⁵⁶ J. Boardman leads the way with his articles including: "Hercules, Peisistratos and Sons", *RA* 1972: 57-72; "Hercules, Peisistratos and Eleusis", *JHS* 95 (1975): 1-12; "Hercules, Delphi and Kleisthenes of Sikyon", *RA* 1978: 227-234; "Images and Politics in Sixth Century Athens" in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 12-15th April 1984*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Series 5; "Hercules, Peisistratos and the Unconvinced", *JHS* 109 (1989): 159-9. Opposing Boardman is R. Cook - "Pots and Peisistratan Propaganda", *JHS* 107 (1987): 169-171. See also H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under*

certain cases - that of Boreas and Oreithuia, for example, the subject is not quite so cut and dried. To summarise the main points of the argument (and we shall use Boardman's (in)famous Hercules-Peisistratus pairing - see n.85 for details): one man, or family, or faction, was able to wield enough political power to manipulate artists and craftsmen, so that they would imbue their mythologically-inspired work with barely-concealed references to reality; or, the hold of this individual or group was such that artisans made oblique reference to the unequal balance of power in their products. While there are plenty of the more 'subtle' images - Boardman discusses a hydria from Boulogne⁵⁷ showing, amongst other things, Hercules (=Peisistratus), Athena (=Athens) and a fountain-house, which he says is representative of the improvement in the Athenian water-supply after the rise of the Peisistratids to power - there are the occasional scenes that point to a specific incident. Boardman finds this on an amphora now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where Athena is labelled as 'Hercules' girl' - a possible reference to the event narrated by Herodotus in I.60, when Peisistratos 'tricked' the Athenians into believing he was favoured by Athena herself when he dressed a tall, handsome village girl named Phye to look like the goddess.

Political influence cannot be dismissed lightly - the men who dedicated treasuries and temples were usually foreign kings or wealthy politicians, or at least politicians who had no problem in collecting large sums of money for such a project - Pericles and the Parthenon with the proceeds of the Delian League spring to mind - so it is little wonder that the myths and legends depicted on large-scale public works of art/religious buildings tended to have some relevance to the benefactor or, in Pericles' case, to his intentions for the *polis*. But what of the smaller artisans, the men and women working in meaner materials such as clay? Are we seriously to expect that the long arm of the politician or tyrant could reach that far - or would even want to? That these images can be read as political is certainly true, and if we can find no other

the Tyrants of Athens, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1989.

For Theseus and Athenian politics, see Shapiro as before, plus C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Theseus lifting the rock and a cup near the Pithos Painter", *JHS* 91 (1971): 94-109; W. R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens", in A. Ward (ed.), *The Quest for Theseus*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1970. For a general discussion on the topic, see W. R. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece", *JHS* 107 (1987): 40-50.

⁵⁷ J. Boardman, "Hercules, Peisistratos and Sons", *RA* 1972: 57-72.

adequate explanation for the popularity of the image apart from in contemporary politics, then we should imagine the potters and painters taking heed of what was said and done about them, which would naturally inspire them to reproduce what they saw and heard in another way - perhaps jocularly, perhaps seriously.

This category encompasses another, which is slightly different from the images tied to a particular politician or group, and this is the mythological depiction in art of an event that was not only contemporary, but also well-grounded in reality. Two examples may suffice here, showing how an obscure myth can be reinterpreted into something new: Zeus and Aegina, and Boreas and Oreithuia. Both myths appeared on ceramics during and after the Persian Wars. The rape of the nymph Aegina can be clearly linked to Athens' coercion of the island of Aegina to join the Delian League⁵⁸, but the Boreas-Oreithuia myth needs to be handled with a little more care. To understand better what we mean, it could be seen as similar to the image on the oinochoe in Hamburg⁵⁹, c.460 B.C. This shows, on one side, a Greek youth with one hand on his erection, striding across the field saying "I am Eurymedon". On the reverse is a Persian, facing the viewer with a look of comic terror, his hands raised in alarm as he presents his buttocks to the approaching Greek. "I am Bend-over" he says. The implication is clear, and as this is the only pot to have been found with such an image, we may look to political events to find its origin. It is most likely to be a reference to the battle of the River Eurymedon (460), which was a resounding victory for the Greeks. As Arafat notes, the oinochoe's visual image is a literal version of the triumphant "We've buggered the Persians!".

Boreas and Oreithuia are another case in point. Their appearance in Attic pottery painting came with the events of 480, the wrecking of the Persian fleet off Cape Sepias (Herodotus VII.189), which will be discussed below, and because of the numbers of the Persian dead, the Boreas-Oreithuia myth was celebrated across all artistic media, including literature. We must bear in mind that the first of these many images appeared whilst the Persian Wars were ongoing, and they continued to appear

⁵⁸ K. Arafat, "State of the Art - Art of the State", in S. Deacy and K. Pierce (eds.), *Rape in Antiquity*, London-Cardiff, Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997: 77-88.

⁵⁹ Hamburg 1981.173; see M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica*, London, Duckworth, 1993: figs. R1155A+B, with discussion p.107-8.

in large quantities until the 420's, with the greatest output in the 470-440 period. While we shall see later how and why the myth changed in art over these decades, it is also undeniable that its first appearance at this time, when Athens was struggling with Persia and beginning to emerge as a world leader, has an emotional impact for the patron. An Athenian could look at this image, as they could at the Eurymedon-Bend-over oinochoe later, and think "Athens is powerful. We beat the Persians. Athens is the greatest!" This is not just an image representing topicality, it is, in effect, an image to promote the belief in the self-respect and self-worth of the average Athenian - no doubt aided by the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and the *Artemision* ode by Simonides. Although we may not term the use of this myth as 'propaganda' in the political sense - the Zeus-Aegina pots may well be classified as such, however - the Boreas-Oreithuia representations do stand as 'propaganda' in the meaning that it is an image attempting to foster a particular feeling or attitude; it is an aggrandisement of Athens, deliberately cultivated in the early years after 480.

(c) literary interpretation.

Here we must tackle the problem encountered by many scholars, namely, the tendency to treat written versions of myths as the primary sources which artistic versions then reflect or deviate from. Myth is, as we have stated above, primarily a collection and collation of tales drawn from oral tradition. Some of these tales passed into literature; some did not, and while we can estimate that we have 1% of the total output of the potters in ancient Greece, we will never know for sure how much we have lost from the written record. In some cases, art is bound to imitate literature. Polygnotus' wall-paintings in the Lesche of the Cnidiads at Delphi depicted detailed episodes from the Trojan war epic cycle⁶⁰, although, given that our *Iliad* does not deal with the Sack of Troy, it is difficult to know whether literature or oral tradition was the inspiration for these paintings.

It is likely that every village and town had its own variant on some myths that related to the locality, based on oral tradition, in much the same way as English villages in the Middle Ages had their tales of ghostly manifestations and saintly

⁶⁰ Paus. X.25.1ff.

interventions. Startling contemporary events that smacked of coincidence, such as the rising of the north-easter to destroy the Persian ships at Cape Sepias, could be woven into these local traditions and beliefs. The advent of the written word brought contamination to myth, perhaps best visualised as a literary version of ‘Chinese Whispers’, as the variants were recorded, revised, and forced into a pattern that they perhaps did not fit. In a society whose level of literacy we cannot securely judge⁶¹, it is perhaps telling that Aristotle wrote

...even the known stories are known to only a few, though they are a delight nonetheless to all⁶².

The *Poetics* is a treatise on the art of dramatic poetry, specifically tragedy, and here Aristotle implies that it is the dramatist alone who is aware of the sources for his plays, as he will be, naturally, a literate and well-read man, unlike his contemporaries. It is the concern of the playwright to present to the people a version of a myth or epic legend in a dramatic performance. The version of the chosen myth can be altered to embody current political tensions or modes of thought, but it should still be recognisable as a myth-allegory (comic writers had no such restrictions, and were thus open to prosecution for their plays, for example, Aristophanes, prosecuted by Cleon for his anti-government play *The Babylonians* in 426). Contamination of a myth by its revision into a play was a common practice, and although many artistic representations may be considered to follow the same practice, the most striking evidence of this can be found in later Italiote pottery. South Italian Greeks loved the theatre, with hundreds of representations on ceramics to bear witness to their passion⁶³. These include a version of the *Medea* that owes nothing to the play of Euripides, and a Boreas-Oreithuia depiction that seems to have derived from a satyr play (fig.40; discussion below). Earlier plays may have been equally as influential to artists - the spiky-haired

⁶¹ Evidence of the ability to write does not necessarily mean that they could read; the inscribed pots of the Archaic-Classical period may indicate literacy at all levels of society, but they may well have been copied from other sources. Ostraka written in the same hand have been identified in the Agora, suggesting that the common man was illiterate. For inscriptions on pots, see M. Vickers and D. W. J. Gill, supra n.36: 164-6; for literacy, see R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, CUP, 1992.

⁶² Ari. *Poetics*, IX.8.

⁶³ A. D. Trendall, “Farce and Tragedy in South Italian Vase-Painting”, in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, *Looking at Greek Vases*, CUP, 1991: 151-182.

and icicle-crowned Boreas of fig.10 may have been inspired by a costume and mask on an actor, perhaps in Aeschylus' *Oreithuia*⁶⁴.

(d) religious interpretation.

This final category in possible interpretations of myth on pottery overlaps with all the other categories, as ceramics could be dedicated at a sanctuary (just as with a grave) after use elsewhere. It is possible that some potters/painters felt that they should give thanks to their patron deity for their gift in art. Robertson has suggested that an Athenian pottery-painter would dedicate a particularly fine piece of his work to Athena, perhaps whilst at the pinnacle of his career⁶⁵, but this does rather assume the privileged nature of some painters - such as Exekias or Euphronius - over others who may be less adept at painting, yet equally must sell their wares in order to survive.

The making of pottery with specific scenes to sell to a particular audience - the worshipper at the sanctuary - can be seen at the larger shrines such as that of Artemis at Brauron and the Theban Cabeirion. While some people may have purchased their offerings in town, others obviously bought theirs just outside the sanctuary itself, as an example from Brauron shows⁶⁶, complete with an image particular to the rites of Artemis at this location. The Cabeirion yields pots with a very individual style of art, a kind of jocular-grotesque set of images, which Buxton suggested were "dramatised travesties of mythology"⁶⁷ - we have an example featuring Odysseus and Boreas on fig.35 - which would perhaps be appropriate given that the Cabeiric cult somehow involved Dionysus, god of drama⁶⁸.

Even though, as Shapiro notes, "recognisable scenes of sanctuaries or temples or festivals are surprisingly few in vase-painting"⁶⁹, the painter can hardly have avoided the influence of such things in real life. Athens, and indeed all of the ancient

⁶⁴ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49: p.37.

⁶⁵ M. Robertson, "The Pioneers in context", in I. Wehgartner (ed.), *Euphronios und seine Zeit*, Kolloquium in Berlin 19-20th April 1991, Berlin, Antikensammlung Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1992: p.132.

⁶⁶ Fig. VI.14 in B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32: p.157.

⁶⁷ R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece*, CUP, 1994: p.34. See also N. H. Demand, *Thebes in the Fifth Century: Hercules Resurgent*, London, Routledge, 1982: p.121.

⁶⁸ B. A. Sparkes, *supra* n.32: p.157.

⁶⁹ H. A. Shapiro *supra* n.56: p.16.

world, was a society driven by cult and religious festival, and it is therefore unsurprising when myth and religion interweave. An example of this is the skyphos by Macron showing Triptolemus, Demeter and Persephone⁷⁰, which refers both to the myth of Demeter's stay at Eleusis whilst searching for Persephone, and the art of agriculture that she taught to Triptolemus, and also to the rites of the Mysteries at Eleusis. We shall see later how festivals play an important role in the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, but it is not the specific festival which is important; it is enough to represent *a* festival, suggesting the background of a religious Athens as a scene fit for a myth.

(iv) Techniques.

Finally, we turn to look at a few of the basics employed by pottery-painters: narrative, stock-types, gestures, and symbolism. We have already described myth in art as 'narrative', not only because it 'tells a story' (or part of a story), but because it gives a recital of facts. Robertson, writing about geometric narrative, says that the figures "are concerned with each other and their activity, not with the spectator"⁷¹, and essentially it remains the same throughout the following centuries, with the addition of a few more sophisticated techniques employed by the painter to attract the gaze of a patron. Snodgrass⁷² describes these narrative methods as follows:

- (i) monoscenic: one essential and/or dramatic moment is depicted; for example, the *prothesis* on Geometric scenes.
- (ii) synoptic: two or more successive episodes of the same story are represented in a single picture, with none of the characters repeated twice; for example, the cup by the Painter of the Boston Polyphemus, c.550, showing the events of Book X of the *Odyssey*: Circe, the animal-headed sailors, and Odysseus⁷³.
- (iii) cyclic: the story is divided into separate scenes with the hero appearing in each scene, sometimes with other characters; for example, the metope sequences such as the Labours of Hercules/Deeds of Theseus on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, 480-470.

⁷⁰ London, BM E140.

⁷¹ M. Robertson, *A Shorter History of Greek Art*, CUP, 1991: p.3.

⁷² A. M. Snodgrass, *Narrative and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford, Leopard's Head Press.

⁷³ Boston MOFA 99.518; A. M. Snodgrass *ibid*, fig.2 and detailed discussion pp.5-7.

(iv) continuous: a much later technique, similar to the cyclic method, in which a series of scenes are depicted with repeated central figures set into a landscape without any enforced division. With no extant Greek wall-paintings, this has come to be associated with Roman art, such as the *Odyssey* landscapes from the Esquiline⁷⁴.

The majority of the images that we shall be studying fall into the monoscenic category - Boreas seizing Oreithuia, Zephyrus abducting Hyacinthus - although there are one or two that are synoptic. These tend to be Italiote representations of a myth in dramatic performance, what Trendall terms the 'movie poster' image, featuring the main 'stars' and the relevant action⁷⁵. This may be seen to perfection on a hydria from Ruvo by the Meleager Painter (fig.1). It is not of Boreas and Oreithuia, but of a Boread (the winged sons of Boreas and Oreithuia who sailed with the *Argo*) seizing a woman - possibly Zetes and Phoibe⁷⁶. In the scene we have the winged youth lifting a woman onto his shoulders beside a fountain and a statue, which glows white and is lifting its arms in benediction - perhaps Aphrodite arriving *dea ex machina*. A girl kneels in appeal for sanctuary behind the statue, and around the edges of the scene lounge three young men with garlands and spears, watching the abduction with apparent amusement. While Neuser⁷⁷ and Simon⁷⁸ both see this as representing Boreas and Oreithuia, Beazley saw it as Zetes and Phoibe watched by approving Argonauts, which to me does make more sense if only for the identification of the young men, dressed as they are as hunters - a typical artistic trait in the illustration of the Argonauts⁷⁹.

To return to our techniques, the use of standardised figure-types ('stock-types') is a common and widespread practice. These figures will appear time and again, such as the fleeing witness-companions⁸⁰ of the Boreas-Oreithuia scenes. These figures are usually distinguishable from one another by differences in dress or hair-

⁷⁴ B. Andreae, "Der Zyklus der Odysseefresken im Vatikan", *Rom. Mitt.* 69 (1962): 106-117; P. H. Von Blanckhagen, "The Odyssey Frieze", *Rom. Mitt.* 70 (1963): 100-146.

⁷⁵ A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1989: 12.

⁷⁶ J. D. Beazley, *ARV* 1412.50.

⁷⁷ K. Neuser, *Anemoi*, Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1982.

⁷⁸ E. Simon "Boreas und Oreithyia auf dem silbernen Rhyton in Triest", *AuA* XIII (1967): p.116.

⁷⁹ See, for examples, *LIMC* 'Argonauts'.

⁸⁰ For these figures as standard to chase/rape sequences, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48: especially p.136-7.

style, but one individual can also appear two or three times; see, for example, the lekythos in Naples (fig.30), and note the similarity between the three women running with their himatia draped across their backs and over their arms. Generally, the witness-companions of the scene have little importance apart from their function as witnesses to the rape. They do, however, give the viewer a point of reference, showing how one should react or assess the scene, in the same way that minor characters in a dramatic performance will give the audience the particular way of perceiving the action in front of them. They are not often named, so that when they are (see fig.9), it is for a specific reason. Other minor figures that have importance include deities like Nereids, who usually appear with a dolphin in their hands (see fig.23), and when a Nereid features in a Boreas-Oreithuia abduction scene, there is presumably a deeper meaning, as we shall see.

The depiction of gestures and expression is a difficult subject to read, as such things are not only highly personal, they differ from society to society. What the modern viewer may think is imbued with meaning may well have been a 'space-filler' (vegetation, especially - see fig.37) to the ancient viewer; one person may see depth of expression in the shared gaze of two figures, while another will perceive nothing out of the ordinary. To this rather dismal picture of reading the image, however, there are several gestures which form the essential components of the representation, and which can be found repeated over and over again - such as running away with raised arms, indicating "fright and consternation"⁸¹, or falling to the knees in supplication (usually to a goddess or statue of a goddess). Other gestures are referred to by specific terms, and can be found in the literary record also. A good example of this is the action of veiling/unveiling which denotes modesty and/or sexual acquiescence, depending upon the context, in a gesture known as *anakalypsis*. This involves the woman (always the female being pursued, and sometimes mirrored by her companions) lifting a corner of her peplos, himation or chiton at the shoulder, or, less commonly, the untying of a hair-ribbon. This symbolises the ritual unveiling/undressing of the bride by the husband at the culmination of the wedding, and so it is frequently found in scenes of pursuit,

⁸¹ E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1983: p.87, n.69.

courtship, or marriage, as it refers to sexual union⁸². However, it can also represent a gesture of modesty, as no well-brought-up Athenian girl would be allowed to be seen by a male stranger without compromising herself or her family's reputation, or *aidos*⁸³. Other gestures that may be read as standard body-language show the ambiguity of the chase/rape situation for the female protagonist, including the holding out of a hand towards the pursuer, or of looking back to make eye-contact - both of which indicate consent even though the victim is fleeing⁸⁴.

Symbolism is yet another difficult topic to address as it too can alter its meaning as society changes. An object on a pot is more than an object - it is there to be seen by the viewer, and thus adds a value of meanings to the image. This is, in effect, the artistic version of Chekhov's loaded gun placed on the stage - the audience are aware of the weapon and know that at some future point in the play, the gun will be used. Thus, the lyre held by Hyacinthus on fig.47 suggests his past and his beauty by alluding to his education in playing the instrument, and the artistic tradition that endowed all lovely young men with long hair and lyres. Similarly, Oreithuia's flight from Boreas on fig.21 shows her wearing a crown, a reference to her status, holding a flower, a reference to her occupation before the arrival of the Wind-god, and she runs towards Athena, a reference both to her city and to her family. The viewer is assumed to be familiar with the myth, and/or that s/he can read the image appropriately and make judgements upon it based upon the placing of these symbols in relation to the characters, who may well be symbols themselves - for Athenian self-glorification, as a metaphor for life's passing, or a host of other such meanings.

1.4. Review of Previous Critical Literature.

If we were to compare the previous critical work written on the Winds with other deities of the ancient world, the volume encompassed would be much slimmer

⁸² See E. C. Keuls, *supra* n.50: p.106-7.

⁸³ See D. L. Cairns, "Off with her *aidos*: Herodotus I.8.3-4", lecture at the Classical Association conference, St. Andrews 1995 ; published in *CQ* XLVI (1996): 78-83. See further Cairns' comments in "Veiling, αἶδος, and a red-figure amphora by Phintias", *JHS* CXVI (1996): 152-8, especially 154.

⁸⁴ For the hand gesture, see M.R. Lefkowitz, "Seduction and rape in Greek Myth", in A. E. Leriou (ed.), *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1993: 17-37; p.22. For eye-contact, see R. Seaford, "The imprisonment of women in Greek Tragedy", *JHS* 110 (1990): 76-90; p.84.

than those for, say, Zeus, Athena or Dionysus. There are many references to the Winds in books on other subjects, such as those on rape and/or desire⁸⁵, and there are plenty of sources to be found in encyclopedic works such as the Pauly-Wissowa Real Dictionary and *LIMC*, under the respective headings of 'Boreas', 'Venti', etc. Yet few books or articles deal with the Winds specifically as a topic.

There are four books published that may serve to show the state of research into the Winds of antiquity, and they date from 1878 to 1982. The first is Roscher's slim volume *Hermes der Windgott*⁸⁶, which, as the title suggests, sets out to prove the connections between the Olympian god Hermes and the Wind-gods. We shall examine this claim in more detail later (section 2.3.7). It is very much a product of its time, with examples drawn from the Hindu and Scandinavian gods, which are unlikely to have influenced to any extent the deities of the ancient Greeks. It is also worth noting that this is a literary-driven work rather than one that took the artistic record into consideration. For all this, though, it remains a useful tool for comparisons between Hermes and the Winds despite its considerable age.

Hampe's even smaller book, *Kult der Winde in Athen und Kreta*⁸⁷, offers an overview of cult practice for the Winds from the Late Bronze Age through to the late Archaic-early Classical period which is insightful but not exhaustive. He expresses his few archaeological points well (discussed below, section 3.1), but fails to capitalise on them by beginning a literary excursus into the Homeric use of Notus and Zephyrus, which does not really relate to the subject in hand. Perhaps the main problem with Hampe's work is that it strongly suggests that he has had no experience in the field, and that he seems to be relying on secondary sources for the archaeology, which results in some vagueness in detail.

In 1979, Kaempf-Dimitriadou published her thesis *Die Liebe der Götter*⁸⁸, an impressive and important piece of work that dealt with the early-mid fifth century phenomenon in pottery-painting, that of the sudden interest in chase/rape scenes involving a god (or goddess) and a mortal. She deals with the topic by subject, such as

⁸⁵ See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48; S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49, and K. Arafat, *supra* n.58.

⁸⁶ W. H. Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1878.

⁸⁷ R. Hampe, *Kult der Winde in Athen und Kreta*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1967.

⁸⁸ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49.

Zeus and Ganymede, Boreas and Oreithuia, and Hyacinthus and his lovers Apollo and Zephyrus. Copiously illustrated throughout with both line drawings and photographic plates, the book also includes an almost complete catalogue index to the representations of the gods with their beloveds from this period. Kaempf-Dimitriadou's research and conclusions are sound, and she does not hesitate to put forwards her own theories which, in the main, are admirable and well-expressed. Since the Wind-gods only form a small part of her thesis, it is unfair to criticise the extent to which she delves into the whys and wherefores of the appearance of Boreas and Zephyrus during the fifth century. It remains the best general introduction published on the subject.

The last of our four authors is Kora Neuser, who published her study *Anemoi*⁸⁹ in 1982. She tries very hard to connect literary myths with the images presented in art, and this is her downfall. Trapp, in reviewing her book, notes that she is overconfident in her methodology, makes sweeping assumptions, over-emphasises simple or obvious points, and rejects those myths that do not fit into her framework as fantasy⁹⁰. She presents some 250 pieces of art that feature the Winds and their offspring, arranged in a catalogue of artistic representations into groups according to the use of elements from different versions of the myths. Taking as an example the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, Neuser identifies five 'types', or categories, of pottery paintings dealing with the myth that she believes to have their basis in the ancient literature: these are the Basic Type, the Ilissus Type, the Cephissus Type, the Acropolis Type, and a large omnibus category that includes all scenes that have no apparent reference in the literature, called the 'Free-working of the Myth'.

The main failing of this approach is that the paintings incorporate so many different elements, or, conversely, give no clues as to their setting, that it is almost impossible to thus compartmentalise each painting as Neuser does; this forces each image into a context that does not necessarily fit it. Often, the smaller details in the scenes are overlooked so that a pot may be assigned to fit a certain 'type', and this is especially true of those pots used by Neuser to 'support' each of her main categories

⁸⁹ K. Neuser, *Anemoi*, Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1982.

⁹⁰ M. B. Trapp, review of *Anemoi*, in *JRS* 73 (1983): 235-6.

listed above. This also presupposes that the myth remained static in each of its forms, which was surely not the case: as stated above, myth is an organic thing that changes and grows with each (re)interpretation. Even as a typological tool, Neuser's method does not bring much that is useful to the field, as the categorisations are simply not contextualised, and can therefore reveal little about the mentality of the artist or the society he/she came from.

Despite such criticism, Neuser does catalogue many new pieces (although in comparison with Kaempf-Dimitriadou and the entries in *LIMC*, there are some puzzling omissions), which is useful, although her accompanying text is not very illuminating.

Aside from these four books, there have been several well-written articles dealing with various aspects of the Winds in antiquity. Steinmetz's "Windgötter" in *JdI* XXV (1910), Nielsen's "Remarques"⁹¹, and Sacconi's "Anemoi"⁹² all approach the subject from a mainly literary perspective, although Steinmetz and Sacconi also examine some of the iconography associated with the Winds. More specific issues are raised by academics such as Agard⁹³ and Burns⁹⁴, who both consider the importance of Boreas to the Athenians in the fifth century. Perhaps the best article begins with a discussion of a specific item, the silver-gilt rhyton from Tarento, then moves on to embrace the question of Boreas and Oreithuia as a whole. This was written by the noted art historian Erika Simon⁹⁵, and must stand as one of the better works on the subject to emerge in recent years.

So it may be seen that there are still avenues of research left open to exploration in this field. What has been published on iconography has been either inaccurate or at least incomplete in its range, either through intention or otherwise, while those who concentrated upon the literary record have done so more in terms of cataloguing and indexing rather than attempting to gain any understanding from contextualising the points made. This is what I hope to rectify here.

⁹¹ K. Nielsen, "Remarques sur les noms Grecs and Latins des Vents et des Régions du Ciel", *Classica et Mediaevalia* VII (1945): 1-113.

⁹² A. Sacconi, "Anemoi", *SMSR* 35 (1964): 137-159.

⁹³ W. R. Agard, "Boreas at Athens", *CJ* LXI (1966): 241-246.

⁹⁴ J. Burns, "Boreas and Oreithyia in Greek Vase Painting", *ZA* 31 (1981): 215-232.

⁹⁵ E. Simon, *supra* n.78.

1.5. Aims of the Thesis.

Now that we have laid out our basic methodology and typological tools, we should discuss the aims of this thesis. Primarily, it is to demonstrate that the Winds, although not of Olympian status, were clearly regarded as important deities to the people of antiquity, touching on *every* aspect of life, which is more than can be said for the majority of the ancient gods who were given only two or three spheres of influence. By the time we reach the conclusion, we should be able to answer the following questions:

1. Who are the Wind-gods?
2. Where do Wind-gods come from?
3. Why do Wind-gods exist?
4. What reasons can we give for their appearance?
5. How can we reconcile winds as a natural phenomena with the Wind-gods of myth?

The approach here is to begin with a section on the iconography of the Winds in the artistic record, with the representations arranged chronologically under the headings of the major wind deities - Boreas and Zephyrus - with a section focusing on the lesser winds, for example, Eurus, Notus, Sciron, Lips, etc., or on general uninscribed wind representations, such as the Etesians on the Tazza Farnese. In addition, there will be a short examination of winged deities relating to the Winds, like the Aurai, Eos, and Hermes. This method is helpful in revealing the extent to which the original meaning of the image was altered over time. For considerations of space, only a few of the pieces - the more complete, the ones that demonstrate most change over time - will be discussed in detail; an appendix lists other representations (Appendix 2).

The second chapter will examine the place of the Winds in cult and ritual, focusing primarily on artistic sources again in a discussion on cults of the Winds and of the wind, magic to rouse or soothe the weather, mystery-cults like Mithraism and Orphism, whose adherents believed that the Winds were part of the great chain of events that resulted in the birth and leadership of their god, and finally, the role of the Winds as psychopomps in the cult of the dead.

The final section will be an overview of the extant literature of Greece and Rome, examining how the Winds were seen in their different guises as gods and meteorological phenomena. Here we shall look at poetry, epic, fables, medical treatises, philosophical dialogues, panegyric, satire, military epitomes and dramatic texts to discover the perceived actions of the Winds in mythology, meteorology, cosmology, philosophy, farming, shipping, medicine, and locution.

2.0. The Iconography of the Wind-gods.

But at last Dahoum drew me: "Come and smell the very sweetest scent of all", and we went into the main lodging, to the gaping window sockets of its eastern face, and there drank with open mouths of the effortless, empty, eddyless wind of the desert, throbbing past. That slow breath had been born somewhere beyond the distant Euphrates and had dragged its way across many days and nights of dead grass, to its first obstacle, the man-made walls of our broken palace. About them it seemed to fret and linger, murmuring in baby-speech. "This", they told me, "is the best: it has no taste".

- T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

The iconography of the Wind-gods is mainly focused on the two deities who feature most heavily in the literary sources - Boreas and Zephyrus. This may be due to the fact that these are the two ^{winds} were perceived to be the most powerful of the meteorological winds in the Aegean region, for different reasons. The north wind is physically the most powerful of the winds, predominant throughout winter (bora) and summer (meltemi), and it is taken to be the wind that ushers in the cold season and the summer period of safe sailing. On the other hand, the west wind is important as the one most often associated with the coming of spring, and the subsequent rains and mild weather to ensure good crop growth. The other two cardinal Wind-gods, Eurus and Notus, do not have a well-developed mythology separate from those tales which involve all four winds, and so they tend to be depicted in cosmological representations, such as those in Roman mosaics; or in specific settings related to popular legend, for example, the Odyssey frieze on the Esquiline.

The common method of portraying a Wind-god is to show a winged male figure with dishevelled hair and clothing; Boreas and Notus are usually bearded, whereas Zephyrus and Eurus are clean-shaven. This difference in the maturity of the gods relates to the meteorological strength of the winds themselves - the north and south winds are the strongest in the Aegean, while the west and east are more tempered by the surrounding landmasses. It is understandable that, when artists began to represent these deities, they envisaged Boreas as a fierce, bearded man and Zephyrus as a mild and youthful figure. However, even these presuppositions may be

challenged, as Zephyrus appears as a bearded man (fig.53) and Boreas is depicted as a youth (figs.24-6); we shall examine these anomalies a little later in this section.

Why are Wind-gods shown as winged? It may be an influence held over from the Orientalising period, when winged Near Eastern gods and goddesses were copied and synthesised with Greek deities, particularly the 'Master/Mistress of the Animals' that often appears on Orientalising pottery. The running winged *daimones* of Corinthian and Laconian ware may have had a similar origin, and there is some discussion on how we should interpret these creatures: are they representative of Wind-gods, or are they Boreads (the sons of Boreas and Oreithuia), or are they nature spirits of another kind⁹⁶? Aside from this undeniable influence, wings suggest speed and strength, both natural states for a Wind-god. Also, many of the nature deities have attributes that allow them to blend with their element: Nereids ride upon hippocamps, gods born from the earth are serpent-tailed (because snakes were thought to live underground), and Wind-gods have wings because they fly through the sky (see also section 2.3.7). Generally the wings develop from the shoulder-blades or spine, and depending upon the skill of the artist, they take the form of bird's wings, with plain or speckled coverts, primary and secondary feathers. It should be taken as read that all pieces discussed feature the Winds with wings; attention will be drawn to those representations that are wingless.

The number of depictions of the Wind-gods varies greatly depending upon the subject and the time period. By far the most popular figure iconographically is Boreas; therefore, we have devoted some space to a full discussion on this deity as the number of extant pieces featuring him make it easier for us to gain a full understanding of how and why images, and their audience, changed.

2.1.1. Boreas.

Boreas, the god of the North Wind, enjoyed perhaps the most artistic attention of all the Wind-gods and for the longest time span. There are well over eighty representations of Boreas in different media, dating from c.655-300 B.C., with the majority of the depictions showing the god with his bride, the Athenian princess

⁹⁶ M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century*, Oxford Classical Monographs.

Oreithuia. Although pottery-painting is the most frequent material for these scenes, it is a motif which also occurs on three-dimensional terracotta *loutrophoroi* and *lekythoi*, on bronze *hydriae*, and it is also well attested in the sculptural record⁹⁷. Again, although the majority of representations feature Boreas and Oreithuia, there are also a few extant examples of Boreas alone; in these instances, one may expect a reading to be less mythologically-tied to the dominant *polis* associated with the god - Athens - and be more inclined to perceive it as a representation of the wind itself, the northerly that enables sea-travel along the shipping-lanes of the Aegean. Some of these representations are Attic in origin, but there are a few that are from elsewhere in the Aegean⁹⁸.

Boreas as a Wind-god is seen as the dominant one of four brothers, since the north wind in Greece is the strongest and most frequent throughout the year, its two main seasons being winter (the *bora*) and summer (the *meltemi*, or *Etesians*). The god lived in Thrace, either on Mount Haemus⁹⁹ in a seven-chambered cave, or along the banks of the River Strymon¹⁰⁰; both these locations place Boreas' home way beyond the bounds of the civilised Greek world and deep into barbarian territory, which accounts for his savage and blustery nature. But even wild things can be tamed: according to myth, Boreas fell in love with Oreithuia from afar and repeatedly sued for her hand; her father, King Erechtheus, refused, knowing well the ferocious and unpredictable temperament of the North Wind. Annoyed and impatient, Boreas simply resorted to the violence that Erechtheus expected of him and seized the princess,

⁹⁷ We may also expect a certain interest in the god in (now non-extant) panel-painting. Lucian writes in his *Timon* 54 that an acquaintance of the eponymous 'hero' has "eyes glaring like a Titan's and his hair tossed back from his forehead, a typical Boreas or Triton such as Zeuxis used to paint"; an unreliable reference to a late fifth century painter, to be sure; but it does suggest that it was common to paint such figures, perhaps as minor characters in scenes from epic cycles, such as the three wind-gods from the *Odyssey* landscapes on the Esquiline.

⁹⁸ See, for an excellent illustration of this, the silver stater from Peparethos (Skopelos) in the BM (coin 28), c.490, which features Boreas, naked, running from left to right, holding wreaths in both hands. He is Corinthian in style, with long braided or curly kouros-type hair with a helmet over his forehead. Although there is no extant legend associating the god with the island, it is likely that Boreas here refers to the force of the north wind, probably as the *meltemi*: Peparethos is one of the Sporades, due east of Sciathos, and like most of this island chain, it has an excellent harbour and a strong sea-faring tradition (N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986 (3rd edition); p.16); it is also popularly known today as 'The Gates of the North Wind'.

⁹⁹ Callimachos, *To Artemis* 114; *To Delos* 65.

¹⁰⁰ Aesc. *Aga.* 191.

carrying her away from Athens to his wintry homeland of Thrace. There they married, and had four children: Zetes and Calais, known as the Boreads, twin sons who grew wings on reaching adulthood and who sailed with Jason as Argonauts¹⁰¹; and two daughters, Cleopatra¹⁰² and Chione¹⁰³.

The myth of Boreas and Oreithuia is one much embroidered by poets and tragedians; no less than four different versions exist that give varying details on the location of the rape and the occupation of Oreithuia before she was carried away. The most common tale is that she was taken as she played or danced with a companion beside the river Ilissus, and this is told by Plato¹⁰⁴, Apollonius Rhodius¹⁰⁵ and Apollodorus¹⁰⁶. A similar story is told by the poets Choirilos of Samos¹⁰⁷ and Simonides¹⁰⁸, except that the location shifts to the river Cephissus or the mountain Brilissus, and that Oreithuia was gathering flowers before Boreas snatched her up. Moving away from river-banks, Plato notes a further tradition that places the scene of the rape on the Areopagus¹⁰⁹, while Aeschylus¹¹⁰ and Acusilaus of Argos¹¹¹ write that the action took place on the Acropolis itself, during the festival to Athena Polias, in which Oreithuia took the role of a *kanephoros* (sacred basket-carrier).

The interest in the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia was re-awakened in 480, during the Persian Wars, when part of the invading fleet was destroyed by a sudden north-easterly squall whilst riding at anchor off Cape Sepias (map 1)¹¹². It was late

¹⁰¹ Ap. Rhod. *Argo*. 211-223.

¹⁰² She married Phineus, King of Thrace, and was doomed to an unhappy end when her husband put her aside in favour of the princess Eidothia (or Idaia). She was walled up and left to die, while Eidothia killed her stepsons either because of the threat to her own offspring (Soph. *Anti*. 969ff), or because she made sexual advances to them and was rebuffed (Apollod. *Bibl*. III.15.3).

¹⁰³ Chione was loved by Poseidon; the child born of their union was the King of Eleusis, Eumolpus, who engaged in war with Erechtheus, his grandfather. The war was won by the Athenians under Ion after Erechtheus was killed by Poseidon

¹⁰⁴ Pl. *Phaedrus* VI.229b. ff.

¹⁰⁵ Ap. Rhod. *Argo*. I.212ff.

¹⁰⁶ Apollod. *Bibl*. III.15.1-2.

¹⁰⁷ *FGrH*, 696; *LIMC* 'Oreithuia I', p.65.

¹⁰⁸ 'On the Sea-Fight Off Artemisium', in *Lyra Graeca* II, tr. J. M. Edmonds, London, Loeb, 1931: 278.

¹⁰⁹ Pl. *Phaedrus* VI.229b. ff.

¹¹⁰ *TrGF* III F 281; *LIMC* 'Boreas' p.135.

¹¹¹ *FGrH* 2 F 30; *LIMC* 'Oreithuia I', p.65.

¹¹² The exact location of Herodotus' Cape Sepias is still being debated; some place it further north along the outer hook of the Magnesian coast at what is now called Cape Procis, whilst others are happy with the location named as Sepias on the British Admiralty charts: see I. Whitehead, "Xerxes' Fleet and the Magnesian Coast", *MM* 74 (1988): 283-6. One would be inclined to follow the advice

August, at the height of meltemi season, and the Persians (who should have been aware of the danger¹¹³), had foolishly anchored their ships in a coastal area that would have been directly in the path of the incoming meltemi squall. Worse yet, Cape Sepias is situated on the outer hook of the Bay of Magnesia, close to the Sporades island of Sciathos and the tip of Euboea (which terminates at Cape Artemision), an area prone to wind-funnelling¹¹⁴; and this would have greatly increased the damage. Herodotus recounts the events in VII.189 of the *Histories*, reporting that the Athenians were advised by an oracle to “pray to their son-in-law” for aid. This they did, once they spied the approaching squall from Artemision, and Boreas duly sank the Persian ships. Herodotus puts the damage estimate at a loss of four hundred ships, with the loss of life apparently “beyond reckoning”¹¹⁵. In gratitude, the Athenians raised a temple to Boreas and Oreithuia on the Ilissus river; this gratitude also extended to the depiction of the Wind and his bride on red-figure pottery in what may loosely be described as a piece of pro-Athenian ‘propaganda’ - or self-aggrandisement; some fifty-three representations on pottery alone survive from the end of the Persian Wars. As Arafat writes:

It is indeed hard not to see depictions of the rape of Oreithuia in this light [Hdt. VII.189]: their appearance is contemporary with the building

of the Admiralty charts, as this location matches the evidence from Herodotus (southerly trending current between Skiathos and the Magnesian littoral, bringing the Persian wreckage to the Greeks on look-out) and also from Simonides, who refers to Sciathos in his ode *On The Sea-Fight Off Artemisium* (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius; in J. H. Molyneux, *Simonides*, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda, 1992: 161ff.).

¹¹³ For Persian ignorance of Aegean weather conditions, see also Hdt. VIII.118; it seems inconceivable that the Persians should be so unprepared, when their empire did in fact extend to the coast of Asia Minor, where Aegean conditions would have been familiar.

¹¹⁴ A phenomenon whereby land and islands situated in close proximity, as are many of the islands in the central Aegean, increase the force and down-draught of incoming winds by pushing the wind through narrow straits - the effect is rather like a wind-tunnel.

¹¹⁵ Hdt. VII.190. A. R. Burn (*Persia and the Greeks*, London, Duckworth, 1984; p.390) believes that Herodotus’ estimates for the numbers involved in the Persian army and navy are greatly exaggerated. However, it is known that the Persian triremes carried 240 men in comparison to the crew of 200 carried by an Athenian trireme (Hdt. VII.184), and if the Persian triremes were lined up at Sepias in a eight ship long line bow-to-stern, and if the ships had been loading from first light, then by dawn, at least a third of the ships would have been crewed. Herodotus states that only those closest to land managed to save themselves and their ships by beaching the vessels securely; the others all perished. A trireme, if holed in battle, will not sink, but will wallow after taking in water; however, a trireme buffeted by a storm of this ferocity is more likely to break up - hence the account of all the flotsam drifting past Artemision. Even if Herodotus had been exaggerating the numbers, and if only one or two hundred Persian ships were lost at Cape Sepias, it would still have been a crushing blow to the morale of the invaders.

of the temple [on the Ilissus], and while a strikingly new scene may just appear from someone's imagination, it is likelier to owe something to a specific impetus¹¹⁶.

The impetus may have come from a source other than the Cape Sepias incident. Agard posits that the continued interest in the Boreas-Oreithuia myth between 475-440 has its roots in the "exploratory interest" that was shown towards Thrace, Boreas' homeland, by the Athenians¹¹⁷. He points to the importance of Thrace for the grain supply to feed Athens, the need for timber to build her navy, and the vast mineral deposits that could be exploited. Cimon established an Athenian outpost at Eion on the mouth of the Strymon River in 476 (Thuc. I.98), but all attempts at permanent colonisation were destroyed by the Thracians, whose violent attacks on the Greeks (Thuc. I.100) ensured that no colonisation could occur until 437. Pericles had sent cleruchies to the Thracian Chersonese since the early 440's, and he founded Amphipolis by 437 (Thuc. IV.102), which helped immeasurably to open up the grain route of the Black Sea region¹¹⁸. With such evidence, says Agard, should we not be reading the popularity of the Boreas(Thrace)-Oreithuia(Athens) myth on pottery in light of the political and economic concerns of the Athenians for their planned imperial inroads into Thrace? While this is an intriguing and clever idea, it could be that Agard is over-estimating the potters/painters and their audience - certainly the Black Sea grain was important for the Greeks, but was it so important that it would become an over-riding factor in art? There are other Thracian gods and heroes who may have sufficed - Orpheus, for example, and he has not the popularity of Boreas with Oreithuia. Whereas the Zeus-Aegina pots can be read as a political statement of the coercion of Aegina to join the Delian League, this is a subject close to home - most Athenians would be aware of, or had perhaps visited, the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf. This would have been a lot more 'real', and of more immediate concern to them than the politics of the Thracian economy. The fact that Boreas and Oreithuia were popular at this time is surely related to the Cape Sepias incident, an occurrence that would be perceived as local (Euboea was the last line of defence against the

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.109.

¹¹⁷ W. Agard, *supra* n.93.

¹¹⁸ Ibid; p.246.

Persians) and therefore 'real' and immediate to the Athenians, just as was the Zeus-Aegina myth. Agard's thesis does have some value, and may also be considered as a motivating factor in the continued popularity of the myth, although we must still be wary: the early images include the Erechtheid royal family, which does tend to emphasise Athens, not Thrace, and does suggest Athenian self-aggrandisement rather than economic policies (see below), and as we have seen in the Introduction, the continuation of the myth on pottery was not for the original reason it appeared, but because it had slipped into the mainstream chase/rape genre. So, although the impetus for the Boreas-Oreithuia scenes may be debated¹¹⁹, there can be no doubt that a distinctly political, even propagandising, flavour may be adduced from these pots, and then from later media.

2.1.2. Before the Persian Wars.

The earliest recorded representation of Boreas and Oreithuia is the seventh century Chest of Cypselus (fig.2), dedicated by the tyrant of Corinth in the sanctuary at Olympia; unfortunately, this is no longer extant as it was made of cedar wood with figures of gold and ivory, but the description remains in Pausanias V.17.5-19.10, which states:

Going round the fourth area on the chest from the left, the North-East Wind has snatched away Oreithuia - he has serpent tails instead of feet...¹²⁰.

On Von Massow's reconstruction¹²¹, Boreas appears with the typical Corinthian double wings and two entwined tails as he carries off the prone figure of Oreithuia. That Boreas and Oreithuia were depicted on the Chest of Cypselus, a piece of archaic Corinthian art, suggests that the myth was not restricted to Athens or Attica. As this

¹¹⁹ E. Simon believes that the impetus came from the Aeschylean plays *Oreithuia*, now lost. They are undateable, but were presumably written after the events at Cape Sepias or at Artemision. See her article *supra* n.78.

¹²⁰ Paus. V.19.1.

¹²¹ Reconstruction by W. Von Massow in "Die Cypseluslade", *Ath. Mitt.* 41 (1916), pp.1-117; J. L. Myres, "Symmetry on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias V.17-19)", *JHS* 99 (1946), p.122. It is based upon fragments of a similar chest with ivory figures, of equivalent date; see also J. B. Carter, "The Chest of Periander", *AJA* 93 (1989), pp.355-378; and also J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece*, CUP, 1990, p.212-3.

is the earliest known appearance of the myth in art, it has been asked whether the original myth was at all Attic in origin, pointing to the Nereid named Oreithuia in *Iliad* XVIII.39. Loeschke¹²² built up a complex argument that may be summarised as follows: the Nereid Oreithuia, like the Nereid Thetis, has the power to transform her shape into that of an animal - a (sea) horse, the kind that can be seen when the wind blows across the waves. Boreas loved Erichthonius/Erechtheus' horses¹²³ (*Iliad* XX.222), and as a result of their union, produced the same 'white (sea) horses' that Oreithuia and her sister Nereids could change themselves into. Oreithuia's father Erechtheus was, like his daughter, originally a sea-deity, proven by his Poseidon epithet and the fact that he was worshipped on the Acropolis in connection with the Olympian. Thus, says Loeschke, because of the Homeric naming of both Oreithuia and Erechtheus in these contexts, the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia is not indigenous to Attica.

There are many problems with Loeschke's argument. He circumvents the issue of Oreithuia's name (which means 'rushing from the mountain', i.e. a wind from the mountain) by claiming that the wind blows upon the mountain as well as upon the sea¹²⁴ - this is a statement that does not adequately explain quite *why* a sea-nymph should choose to become a mountain-nymph; the wind also blows through the trees, but Oreithuia is never envisaged as a dryad¹²⁵. As for the power of the Nereids to transform their shape, Thetis was not a typical Nereid, but a sea-goddess, possessed

¹²² G. Loeschke, *Boreas und Oreithyia am Kypselokasten*, Dorpati Livonorum, 1886; summarised in J. E. Harrison and M. De Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, London, Macmillan, 1890; pp.lxxvi-lxxvii.

¹²³ The distinction between Erichthonius and Erechtheus, both legendary kings of Athens and considered to be autochthonous, is often blurred, sometimes to the extent that one is taken for the other (Xen. *Mem.* III.5.10). See also K. Jeppesen, *The Theory of the Alternative Erechtheion*, Åarhus University Press (*Acta Jutlandica*), 1987; pp.51-54.

¹²⁴ Thus his complete argument: "At first the north wind riots amongst the waves; this anthropomorphised, is Boreas among the sea-nymphs. Then he individualises: he loves one sea-nymph, Oreithyia; but she still has the power to transform herself into the symbolic horse. Finally, she leaves the sea altogether, forgets her horse, and becomes a mountain maiden, for Boreas blows upon the mountain too; she comes ashore for good, and ends as an Athenian princess". G. Loeschke in J. B. Harrison and M. De Verrall, *supra* n.112, p. Lxxviii.

¹²⁵ The juxtaposition of Nereid with Oread may be explained in nautical terms; both G. S. Kirk and M. W. Edwards agree that the 'mountain-rushing' wind symbolised by oreithuia's name refers to the down-draught from the lee of the mountain that disturbs the sea (see also section 4.4 for meteorological details). M. W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary V*, Books 17-20, CUP, 1991; p.150.

of a greater power than the Nereids, her attendants. There are no stories attesting that the Nereids themselves changed their shape. The linking of Poseidon-Erechtheus is a cultic combination of purely Attic origin, which appears to have arisen in order to reconcile the two elements of sea and earth present on the Acropolis: the salt-water spring (Poseidon) and the rock of the Acropolis (Erechtheus, the autochthonic hero)¹²⁶. Although it is indeed probable that the Boreas-Oreithuia myth was not Attic initially (and we have no mention of it in Hesiod or Homer, despite the name Oreithuia appearing at *Iliad* XX.222), one would imagine that, given that its earliest appearance is in Corinthian pottery, its origin could possibly be found in the Near East. Perhaps the myth was adopted by the Athenians in the archaic period, yet this does not have to be the case. It could well be an indigenous Greek myth. Corinth and Athens are close geographically, and although they were usually enemies, they were sometimes allies. It is entirely possible that an Attic myth could be represented artistically by another *polis*, just as the (smaller) corpus of Attic pot-paintings showing Zephyrus and Hyacinthus depict what is basically a Spartan myth. It is also possible that the myth was 'borrowed', following the Cape Sepias incident, from its original locality.

However, there is a large corpus of material relating to the Boreads¹²⁷ which suggests a knowledge of the myth of the North Wind and his bride at around the same time as the Chest of Cypselus. The Boreads and, indeed, Wind-gods (or *daimones*) featured alone, proved to be more popular in the extant pottery record of early Corinth and Laconia¹²⁸: was this because, unlike Boreas and Oreithuia, the Boreads had a universal appeal as Argonauts, and were thus not restricted to one area? Certainly the Athenian version of the Boreas-Oreithuia myth was related at least as

¹²⁶ K. Jeppesen, *supra* n.123; pp.28-34.

¹²⁷ See *LIMC*, 'Boreads'.

¹²⁸ Of these figures, Shapiro says: "During the late eighth and seventh centuries there occurred an influx of winged human and animal types into Greek art, especially from Assyria and North Syria, perhaps with Asia Minor acting as intermediary. Along with winged types, the *knielauf* posture, which had long enjoyed popularity in Near Eastern representations of the Master-of-Animals, was borrowed by the Greeks and endowed with a new connotation of swift motion" (H. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 B.C.*, Akanthus, Zurich, 1993; p.53). The early Corinthian Boreads are therefore seen by Shapiro as transitional figures from the 'Master-of-Animals' motif, and this notion of swiftness does fit well with the nature of the early concept of Boreas as a nature-god rather than as one specifically related to a *polis* - cf. with the archaic coin in n.98 above.

early as the 6th century, as it is recorded by Acusilaus of Argos¹²⁹; even so, there seems to be a Peloponnesian interest solely in the Boreads (Argos, Laconia, Corinth), presumably because of their involvement with the Argonauts. Jason's enterprise was effectively a second Trojan expedition, a panhellenic enterprise - something that all of Greece could share in, whereas Athens had the monopoly on the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, which, because of its highly specific localities and characters, may therefore point to an indigenous Attic origin after all.

In a similar vein to the presentation of the Wind-god-*daimones* of Corinth and Laconia is the Chalcidian neck-amphora of c.520, attributed to the Memnon Group (fig.3). The Corinthian influence is strong, particularly in the way that Boreas is represented: the swiftly-running legs in profile, the frontal torso with the arms on either side of the body, the head in profile and facing the opposite direction of travel, and the large, curving, double wings. Boreas is in the centre of the field, looking back at Hermes, while before him sits an impassive sphinx. The reverse of the pot shows a bird, perhaps a pigeon, which bends its head back towards Hermes. One possible interpretation of this pot is that it is concerned with the theme of messages. A pigeon (and other birds) can carry messages, or be auguries of messages from the gods; Hermes is the messenger-god; Boreas as the North Wind carries messages and messengers across the sea, and finally, the Sphinx's message for men was a riddle. Another reading could be the linking theme of death: birds, Hermes and Winds are known as psychopomps¹³⁰; a sphinx causes death, but they are often seen carrying away youths in what Hoffmann refers to as "a paradigm for hoplite initiation"¹³¹. A third, and more simple alternative, is that all the figures on the pot have wings.

Fig.4 shows a late archaic sealstone depicting Boreas running across two garlands. He is depicted in typical archaic style, with massive thighs and buttocks, and is crowned with a fillet. This sealstone was discovered at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, and its appearance at this location suggests that Artemis or Iphigenia may be the linking factor. Agamemnon was required by the goddess to sacrifice his youngest daughter Iphigenia in order that the Greek fleet might have

¹²⁹ FGrH 696.

¹³⁰ Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs* 24.

¹³¹ This initiation involved the symbolic 'death' of childhood. H. Hoffmann, *supra* n.47; p. 76ff.

good sailing to Troy; until the sacrifice was made, Artemis withheld the winds¹³². In a tradition repeated by the Euripidean corpus, Iphigenia was not killed, but substituted at the last minute by a hind sent by the goddess; the princess was removed to Tauris on the Thracian coast and became a priestess of Artemis until rescued by her brother Orestes and his companion Pylades, at which point Athena appears as *dea ex machina* and announces that Iphigenia shall become priestess of Artemis at Brauron¹³³. Throughout *Iphigenia in Tauris* there are references to winds¹³⁴, underlining the relationship between Iphigenia, Artemis and the Boreas figure of the sealstone; we may expect that the breeze that carried the fleeing Greeks from Thrace back to Greece was none other than Boreas, the Thracian north wind.

2.1.3. After the Persian Wars : (i) 480 - 470 B.C.

Six pots depicting Boreas survive from this decade immediately following the incident at Cape Sepias, a period in which the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia was revitalised and elaborated upon, following the variant myth traditions of oral and written sources. In order for the protagonists to be easily recognisable, some of these earlier images are clearly labelled. This suggests that this subject is new, either to the society or perhaps just to the painter, and we may imagine the impact upon the potential customers when these images first went on sale bearing the names of the current 'saviours of Athens', the rush to buy a pot in much the same way as one might purchase a commemorative *Star Wars I: The Phantom Menace* mug today.

The piece dated as the earliest of this decade¹³⁵ is one of the most interesting of the entire Boreas-Oreithuia corpus, a stamnos by the Berlin Painter (fig.5) that features a double-headed Boreas. Janiform deities are rare in classical mythology, with one god springing instantly to mind: Janus, the ancient Roman god and *numen* of doorways, bridges, and beginnings¹³⁶. Ancient Greek janiform representations appear

¹³² Aesch. *Aga.* 188-198 specifies that the winds are blowing in opposition to the Greeks, particularly "the breezes that blew from the Strymon" (191), i.e. Boreas; compare, however, to Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 87: "At Aulis we tarried, weather-bound".

¹³³ Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1462-3.

¹³⁴ Ibid; for example, 1.354, 430ff, 1327, 1394 and 1486ff.

¹³⁵ Dated by Beazley in ARV2 208; 150.

¹³⁶ L. A. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs XXI, 1961.

on figures such as Argus, the herdsman whom Hera set to watch Io¹³⁷, and Boreas. During Hellenistic times, Hermes was sometimes depicted with more than one face, and it was this iconographic trait, as well as other similarities, that led the Romans to equate Hermes with Janus. Both gods had two (or more) faces to symbolise their different, yet related, functions as deities¹³⁸; Argus' janiformity can be explained well enough by dint of him having, in mythology, one hundred eyes - painting one hundred eyes is a fairly long and tedious process, so to emphasise the role of Argus in the tale, that of the ever-watchful guard, two faces may suffice instead. But what of Boreas?

The scene on the Berlin stamnos is a busy one. Boreas chases Oreithuia as her companions flee in all directions, although one woman hastens towards the abduction - possibly this is one of Oreithuia's sisters. Two young men also appear on the pot, one dressed in a long ceremonial chiton, both wearing himatia and carrying staffs, symbolising authority; this, together with the fillets that Oreithuia and two of her companions are wearing in their hair, marks this out as a ritual occasion. Taking Acusilaus' fragment (see 4.1.(ii).(a)), which states that Erechtheus made his daughter *kanephoros*¹³⁹ for Athena Polias, then this would suggest that the festival being celebrated when the abduction took place was the annual Panathenaea, the single most important festival of Athens and already well-established by Homeric times¹⁴⁰, and which was celebrated as a Panhellenic festival from around 566 B.C-410 A.D¹⁴¹. The Panathenaea took place over an eight-day period, from the 23rd-30th of the month of Hecatombeon (July), with the main feast day being on the 28th (Day 6). It was on this day that the ritual procession from the Dipylon Gate would begin, to wend along the Panathenaic Way to the Acropolis, there to present sacrifice to Athena. Although the Panathenaea is well attested in literary sources, monuments,

¹³⁷ J. Burns, *supra* n.94.

¹³⁸ Hermes' main functions: protector of heralds, travellers, flocks, merchants and thieves; psychopomp; god of fertility, luck and wealth. Janus' main functions: god of beginnings, time, the calendar; protector of travellers; guardian of gates, doorways, bridges, and a connection (via the temple of Ianus Geminus in the Roman Forum) with war and peace.

¹³⁹ Although there is no basket in the Berlin Painter's rendering of the scene, this does not lessen the argument; as will be seen, pottery painters were not necessarily following the strict dictates of literary sources, and in the absence of their own knowledge of certain festivals, they have a tendency to depict either several cult objects, or none at all.

¹⁴⁰ *Il.* II.549-51.

¹⁴¹ J. Neils, "The Panathenaea: An Introduction", in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: the Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Princeton University Press, 1992; p.13.

and the great prize-amphorae, there are surprisingly few explicit artistic representations of the festival¹⁴². For this reason, it is difficult to state unequivocally that the seizing of Oreithuia was supposed by the Berlin Painter to take place during the procession to the Acropolis. However, certain symbols may be read in the context of the stamnos as indicating that this is indeed the case: for example, Oreithuia wears a fillet of olive leaves, the tree sacred to Athena and symbol of the goddess' claim on Athens. Also, the youth to the right of the abduction is wearing the long archaic woollen chiton and crown, and has long hair, which marks him out perhaps as a rhapsode or priest. The scene on the stamnos may be compared with the Panathenaic frieze from the Parthenon, for there are certain similarities: on the east frieze (fig.6) we see two youths dressed in himatia and carrying staffs leading a group of maidens (fig.7) towards the central scene of the handing-over of the peplos. Oreithuia and her companions wear the same type of fillets worn by the Parthenon maidens; so, iconographically at least, the Berlin Painter seems to be suggesting that the abduction took place during the Panathenaea. However, the link between the stamnos and the Panathenaea goes beyond the merely iconographic.

Gagé, in a study of the cult of Janus¹⁴³, suggests that the double-headed Boreas was the original model for the Roman Janus, linking the two deities with water-travel: Janus being the god of bridges and hence controlling transport along rivers, and Boreas being responsible for directing sea-traffic in the Aegean and Ionian Sea¹⁴⁴. Scholarly opinion agrees that the janiform Boreas relates to the duality of the north wind¹⁴⁵, “symbolis[ant] le double courant d'air, le Borée et l'Anti-Borée de l'Euripe”¹⁴⁶. More specifically, “von den antiken Meteorologen beschreiben Doppelnatur des Boreas erklären, der einmal feucht und kalt ist und dann wider als

¹⁴² Ibid; p.25.

¹⁴³ J. Gagé, “Le culte de Janus”, *RHR* 195 (1979); p.27.

¹⁴⁴ The link is probably a tenuous one. Janus is, even as a *bifrons* deity, of some considerable antiquity and would pre-date the Berlin Painter's stamnos by a number of centuries. See G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, tr. P. Krapp, University of Chicago Press, 1970; p.329-331.

¹⁴⁵ In much the same way as Janus' janiformity reflects his duality as the god who opens (Janus Patulcius) and who closes (Janus Clusius), Boreas' meltemi duality lies in the periodic south winds that blow over Athens in the lull between the northerly meltemi; see below and in the Meteorology section.

¹⁴⁶ Gagé, *supra* n.143; p.28.

Wolvenvertrieber für trockenes Wetter sorgt”¹⁴⁷. Burns describes this duality in greater detail, drawing on Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 547-553, which tells of the gentler early morning northerly breezes which give way to stronger, wintry blasts towards nightfall¹⁴⁸. In Theophrastus’ *De Ventis* 28, a phenomenon known as the *palimboreas* is reported to take place during the early days of the meltemi season, causing the north wind to veer and blow back upon itself. This, says Burns, may have inspired the Berlin Painter, who may “have thought that if Boreas is to seize Oreithuia and then fly home again to Thrace, then he must have another face which represents the *palimboreas*”¹⁴⁹.

If we accept that the janiform appearance of Boreas is indicative of the dual nature of the north wind during the meltemi, then we can take this proposal one step further: the meltemi is closely connected with the Dog-Star, Sirius. About a month or two (generally May-June) before the meltemi season begins, light northerly winds known as the *prodroms* begin to blow. The heliacal rising of Sirius, which is the 28th July at Athens, heralds the start of the meltemi season, after which the south wind blows for a short while before the meltemi proper starts to blow - a further example of Boreas’ duality¹⁵⁰. Mythologically, Sirius is another name for the janiform hound Orthrus, the offspring of Echidna and Typhon (himself a Wind-god), and guard-dog of Geryon, who was killed (along with Orthrus) by Hercules (fig.8). Orthrus-Sirius inaugurated the Athenian New Year, which began with the rising of the Dog Star in late July. According to Burkert:

the most important festival of the city is the New Year one... there are two possible times for New Year, in the spring or after the corn harvest. The latter is the case in Athens: the year begins with the Panathenaic festival...¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ C. Starck, in K. Neuser, *supra* n.77; p.69, n.129.

¹⁴⁸ J. Burns, *supra* n.94; p.221.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Theophrastus wrote at least 150 years *after* 480, and based many of his meteorological observations upon his own fieldwork despite relying on Aristotle’s *Problems* and *De Meteorologica* for much of his basic information. Wind patterns in the Aegean have not changed to a great extent over the centuries, so it is entirely possible that the *palimboreas* of Theophrastus was a normal event in meltemi season.

¹⁵⁰ The helical rising of a star is the first occasion of the star’s appearance on the eastern horizon. For the exact date at Athens, see E. J. Bickerman, *The Chronology of the Ancient World*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1980; p.54. For the reversal of the northerly *prodroms*, see Arist. *Prob.* XXVI.12.

¹⁵¹ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard University Press, 1985; p.228.

The Sirius-meltemi connection with janiform Boreas takes on more significance if Oreithuia was snatched during the festival of the Panathenaea, which was celebrated near the end of July; this is especially so since the procession to the Acropolis on Day 6 of the festival - the 28th July, the start of meltemi season - began at sunrise¹⁵²; meteorologically, this is the time when the north wind rises, as a typical day in Athens during meltemi season starts with a calm dawn, a breezy northerly wind by daylight, and a fairly forceful wind (10-20 knots) in the afternoon, before it drops to a dead calm in the late evening.

If we look more specifically at the Panathenaea itself, we can see that it did not just celebrate Athena; many gods and heroes also received their dues, with the first of these heroes being the first king of Athens, Erechtheus¹⁵³, father of Oreithuia. Athena Polias shares her Acropolis temple with Erechtheus, a cohabitation that apparently existed from Mycenaean times¹⁵⁴; Erechtheus has a “predominant position... in early Athenian myth and cult”¹⁵⁵ due to his chthonic birth, an origin also claimed by two other mythologically important kings, Cecrops and Erichthonius¹⁵⁶. Athenians declared that they were also autochthonic¹⁵⁷, and after the reforms of Cleisthenes in the 6th century, the Delphic Oracle stated that Erechtheus should be named as the eponymous hero of one of the ten new tribes of Attica¹⁵⁸. Erechtheus was considered to be a great warrior-king, associated in later cult with Poseidon due to the tradition that the god killed the hero; this same link also ensured that the king received a magnificent sacrifice of bulls and goats¹⁵⁹. Erechtheus “impersonates the Athenian fighting spirit... The war which symbolises the former disunity of Attica, and the inevitability of Athenian domination, is naturally attributed to him”¹⁶⁰. Who

¹⁵² J. Neils, *supra* n.141; p.15.

¹⁵³ W. Burkert, *supra* n.151; p.233.

¹⁵⁴ *Od.* VII.80-1; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996; pp.19-20.

¹⁵⁵ R. Parker, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ For the confusion between Erechtheus and Erichthonius, see n.123 above; see also E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, BICS Supp. 57 (1989); p.161.

¹⁵⁷ R. Parker, *supra* n.154; p.138.

¹⁵⁸ K. Jeppesen, *supra* n.123; p.33.

¹⁵⁹ Eur. *Erech.* Frg.65.90ff, in E. Kearns *supra* n.156, p.210. See *Il.* II.549-551 for details of the sacrifice.

¹⁶⁰ E. Kearns, *supra* n.156; p.114.

better than Erechtheus, then, to represent the essence of Athens as she fought against the Persians?

Of the extant pottery from the early fifth century featuring Boreas and Oreithuia, six pots from nine also show Erechtheus¹⁶¹; this drops to twelve from thirty-two pots in the period 470-420. Is this early emphasis significant? Probably so: he is present at, or near, the abduction scene not only to underline his paternal relationship to Oreithuia, but to also stress his paternal relationship to Athens and her citizens¹⁶². Thus, by seizing Oreithuia, Boreas does not just take any Attic princess: he takes the daughter of the original founder of the *polis* of Athens, the warrior-king who achieved victory over the Eleusinians in an almost-hopeless situation, as did the Athenians over the Persians, thanks (partly) to their 'son-in-law', Boreas. This is essentially propaganda for the *polis*: the juxtaposition of Boreas with figures who represent the very essence of Athens is an important one. On a more basic level, the emphasis of Herodotus' report in VII.189, with its oracles, prophecies and magic, suggests that the Athenians were also claiming to control the weather - the oracle given to the Athenians is worded in such a way as to suggest that human intervention (prayers and sacrifice) will be conducive to the rising of the storm, whereas the Persian magi who try to calm the wind meet with no success until it has blown itself out, too late for the Persian fleet; the Athenians, therefore, have the favour of the gods (marriage-bond or no), unlike the Persians, and so this fact may be celebrated artistically and in literature.

Two similar scenes of importance by the Oreithuia Painter (figs.9 and 10) show the princess seized by the god as maidens run to help her or flee to inform Cecrops and Erechtheus, who stand on the reverse of the pot. The fleeing women are named as Cecrops' daughters, Herse, Pandrosus and Aglaurus, although the identity of the fourth girl is unknown and uninscribed. The inclusion of Cecrops and his daughters, the Aglaurids, is also *polis*-oriented propagandising, underlining the

¹⁶¹ Pointed amphora from Vulci, the Oreithuia Painter, formerly in Berlin, F2165; pointed amphora by the Oreithuia Painter, in Munich, 2345; calyx-crater in Basel, H.C. Cahn HC 536; column-crater by the Boreas Painter, Munich Antikensammlung 2375; volute-crater by the Boreas Painter, Bologna Museo Civico 273; oinochoe by the Pan Painter in the British Museum, E512. The pointed amphorae also feature Cecrops.

¹⁶² Hdt. VIII.44.

strength and might of Athens by a doubling of images from the most famous of the royal houses of the city. Whereas Erechtheus is the martial king of Athens, Cecrops may be seen as representative of the “civilising spirit” of Athens¹⁶³; in this example, not only does Cecrops underline the importance of Oreithuia’s marriage to Boreas, but he also stands for the civilised *polis* which has triumphed over the barbarian Persians.

Another link with the Persian Wars may be deduced from the presence of the Aglaurids - that of the sacred olive tree of Athena, which grew within the temenos of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis. The girls are on the amphorae primarily as witnesses to the abduction, but it must be recalled that all three daughters were remembered symbolically every year by the festival of the Arrephoria, which Pausanias describes at 1.27.3. This rite recalls the myth that Athena entrusted a box to the Aglaurids, containing the infant Erichthonius, and forbade them to open it. Two of the girls disobeyed, and were terrified by the appearance of a snake - Erichthonius being half-human, half-serpent since he was born of Gaia - and in their fright, they fell from the Acropolis and perished on the rocks below. Pandrosus, who had not looked into the box, was rewarded by Athena with a part of the precinct and thereafter tended the sacred olive tree, which grew inside the Erechtheion¹⁶⁴.

Both Pandrosus and Herse have names which mean ‘dew’, and it has been suggested that the rite of the Arrephoria is closely connected with the fertility and health of the olive tree on the Acropolis¹⁶⁵ - and with the support in the rite of Aphrodite in the Gardens, a major fertility goddess, the argument is strengthened¹⁶⁶. The olive tree needs water in order to produce a full harvest in the autumn, and without the dew of the early morning (summer rainfall in Athens being minimal), the fruit will be small and hard. The link with Boreas and Oreithuia is precisely because of this olive tree: after the invading Persians had taken the Acropolis by clambering up a cleft beside the shrine to Aglaurus, some of the Athenian defenders “cast themselves down from the wall and so perished”¹⁶⁷; others retreated for sanctuary

¹⁶³ E. Kearns, *supra* n.156; p.114.

¹⁶⁴ Hdt. VIII.55.

¹⁶⁵ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932; p.14.

¹⁶⁶ E. Simon, *supra* n.81: 39-46, especially 45.

¹⁶⁷ Hdt. VIII.53. There is a bitter irony here: the Athenians casting themselves from fear of the

inside the temple. The Persians killed everyone and burnt the Acropolis; but miraculously, the following morning, the sacred olive put forth a new shoot¹⁶⁸. This olive tree, as stated previously, grew within the temenos of the Erechtheion, the temple of Athena and of Erechtheus, Oreithuia's father - thus we have another example of the Athenian 'fighting spirit'.

Although the sack of Athens was unfortunate, it was by no means decisive. The attack took place in late August or early September, following the Persian defeat by 'Boreas' at Cape Sepias, and despite the horror of having the Athenian citadel taken by the invaders, the sign from Athena was clear - the Persians would not long be masters of the city. A few weeks later came the massive Persian defeat at Salamis. Thus, on the two amphorae by the Oreithuia Painter, we have two pieces of complementary imagery: Boreas and Oreithuia represent the loss of the fleet off Cape Sepias, and Cecrops and the Aglaurids represent the ancient rite of the Arrephoria, the rite to ensure the continuation of the sacred olive tree, the tree that not even the Persians could destroy. Both pieces of imagery point to the same conclusion: the eventual defeat of the Persians and the victory of the Athenians.

To return to the amphorae themselves, in both scenes, Boreas holds the same pose, the one difference being the omission of his winged boots on the Munich amphora (fig.10). Oreithuia changes position so that the viewer may see Boreas' face more clearly; on the Berlin pot, her arms obscure his face somewhat. The costuming and the rendering of the hands and feet on the Munich pot is a more detailed version than that of the Berlin piece, and Boreas, who initially had a fringe of spiky hair, on the Munich pot has a spiky beard, spiky hair, and wears a crown of icicles to indicate his origin from the frozen wastes of the north. This latter touch suggests a theatrical connection to Kaempf-Dimitriadou and Simon: "Das Haupt des Boreas erinnert an eine Theatermaske"¹⁶⁹, pointing to the *Oreithuia* plays of Aeschylus as an impetus for the sudden artistic interest in the subject. This is probably true, and may also account for the odd appearance of the janiform Boreas (one face therefore being a mask), as the theatre would be the one place where potters, painters and their

Persians in much the same way as the Aglaurids ran headlong from the serpentine Erichthonius.

¹⁶⁸ Hdt. VIII.55.

¹⁶⁹ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49: 37.

patrons would all see a myth in action, the visual image offered by the dramatic production a possible first point of reference for recognition of a particular painted scene. Certainly there is ample evidence of depictions of actual dramatic productions¹⁷⁰, although one should again be careful with just how far-reaching this influence would be. It is indeed likely that artists of all media, including drama and painting, were inspired by the events of summer 480, and that each artist's vision of Boreas was different - the Oreithuia Painter may have been inspired by a costume he saw at the theatre, or he may have used his own artistic licence in representing the cold, wintry god of the north wind with his crown of icicles.

Fig.11 is a calyx-crater by the Aigisthus Painter; badly-damaged, it nevertheless preserves the names of Boreas and Oreithuia. On the reverse, a woman informs a king of the rape; presumably this figure is Erechtheus, the woman one of Oreithuia's sisters or companions, as the names are not preserved. Erechtheus is seated on a cushioned throne, wrapped in a cloak, and is the picture of calm majesty. This may be contrasted with the uninscribed oinochoe of the Pan Painter (fig.12), which features one of Oreithuia's companions running from the rape scene; next (we may assume), Erechtheus, seated on a rock, his head in his hand and his cloak drawn up to partly muffle his face. This could be taken as a sign of mourning or grief, and is a gesture associated with funerals¹⁷¹: Oreithuia's rape by, and subsequent marriage to Boreas ultimately renders her 'dead' to her father and to her homeland, neither of which she will see again as a bride in Thrace¹⁷².

Towards the end of the decade, the protagonists lose their inscribed names - possibly the market had been flooded with hundreds of Boreas-Oreithuia images and the patrons were familiar enough with the scenes for the painters to omit the

¹⁷⁰ Attic pottery paintings tend towards literary (non-dramatic) mythological subjects (although they do not necessarily follow the myth to the letter), or scenes of everyday life, rather than show representations of theatrical texts. One or two examples do exist, however: the 'Basle Dancers' (Basle, Antikenmuseum und Skulpturhalle BS 415) of the 490's which perhaps shows a scene from Aeschylus' lost play *Psychopompoi*; or the fragmentary pot of the 460's which apparently shows a Persian drama (Corinth Museum T114). A century later, Apulian painters liked to depict dramatic versions of tragedies; see for example the representation of a *Medea* (not the Euripidean play), or of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, both illustrated in O. Taplin, "The Pictorial Record", in P. E. Easterling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy*, CUP, 1997; pp.69-92.

¹⁷¹ H. Hoffmann, *supra* n.47; p.75.

¹⁷² For the link between marriage and death for women, see E. C. Keuls, *supra* n.50; pp.130-133.

inscriptions. From this period onwards, there is great variety in the way that the artists represent Boreas; sometimes depicted as a frightening figure, sometimes a figure of fun, and sometimes satyr-like, as would befit a minor god who could not control his lusts. Many of the abduction scenes are not tied to any specific location before 470 by the use of rocks¹⁷³, fountain-houses or altars, but from this date forwards, artists begin to experiment with locale. A good example is the volute-crater by the Boreas Painter (fig.13), which features a palm tree beneath the handle. This is an unusual addition to the genre; stylised foliage is the norm for a space filler, and although this is indeed a somewhat stylised tree, with its notched trunk, long leaves and spiky crown, it is nevertheless recognisable as a date-palm of Mediterranean type. It could perhaps represent the warmth of Greece which Oreithuia will forsake when she becomes the bride of Thracian Boreas, but it was also commonly used to represent foreign, non-Greek soil¹⁷⁴; in this instance, it is probably the former rather than the latter, as the abduction is just about to take place¹⁷⁵. An altar, symbol of sanctuary, appears on a hydria in Athens (fig.14), which Oreithuia is running towards. In addition to the basic meaning of safety at an altar, this could also serve to remind the viewer of the altar to both Boreas and Oreithuia erected after the Persian Wars on the river Ilissus¹⁷⁶. This painting already shows

¹⁷³ Erechtheus is seated on a throne in fig.11 and on a rock in fig.12; the muffled seated figure upon a rock is standard in the iconography of mourning (see H. Hoffmann, *supra* n.47; p.75), although E. Simon believes it to "symbolise the Acropolis" (E. Simon, "Early Classical Vase-Painting", in C. G. Boulter (ed.), *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1985: 66-82; p.75), and the throne may be expected as befits a king.

¹⁷⁴ Especially Troy. See. For example, the Suicide of Ajax by Exekias in T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1991; p.230, no.332), the Ilioupersis by the Kleophrades Painter (Carpenter no.335), Achilles killing Troilos by Onesimos (J. Boardman, *Attic Red Figure Vase Painters - The Archaic Period*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1975, no.232); see also Hercules and Geryon beneath a palm-tree on a bronze relief from Samos (Carpenter, no.201) when compared with his other heroic deeds which will include an olive tree for 'home fixtures', for example, the Hydra (Carpenter no.214); although it should be noted that a palm-tree does sometimes represent Greece - one appears on a white-ground lekythos showing the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Carpenter no.299) and also on a fragmentary krateriskos showing Brauronian *arktoi* (E. Simon, *supra* n.82; p.84, fig.10a and b).

¹⁷⁵ C. Sourvinou-Inwood offers another explanation for the palm-tree: it is usually seen alongside altars that are symbolic of Artemis or Thetis, and so may be interpreted as a symbol of impending nuptials. This would fit with the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, but it may be pushing matters a little too far to accept this thesis in this particular case. See "Altars with Palm-trees, Palm-trees, and *Parthenoi*", in *supra* n.48: 99-143.

¹⁷⁶ Hdt. VII.189ff. See also the hydria by the Altamura Painter, which shows Oreithuia grasping two stylised flowers (again, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48: 137) as she runs towards an altar,



evidence of turning the propaganda scene of the previous decade into the chase/rape sequence common in fifth century Athenian pottery¹⁷⁷: Boreas eagerly grasps Oreithuia's trailing arm, arresting her flight, and she turns her head back to make full eye-contact. Other pots show the couple making eye-contact, but different factors intrude into the space - a hand, a wing-tip - which makes the scene less intimate. Here, Boreas' running pose makes him the same height as Oreithuia, so their gazes lock; the god's hold on her makes her turn her upper body towards him. The focal point of the composition is the space created by the inward-turning heads of Boreas and Oreithuia, and their joined arms; this space is at the centre of the hydria as the viewer perceives it, and thus makes their shared gaze the object of the viewer's gaze. The action of rape is of secondary importance here, relegated by a look of intimacy between aggressor and victim which ultimately suggests their married state.

(ii) 470 - 460 B.C.

On the pots from the earliest part of this decade, Erechtheus is still very visible as a protagonist - on the reverse of the pelike (fig.15) and the stamnos (fig.16), both by Hermonax, and on the stamnos by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe (fig.17). Most of these follow the earlier scenes, suggesting through the use of the fleeing women and the youths with staffs that a ceremony was taking place before the abduction. An interesting image is presented by the Painter of Athena's Birth (fig.18); here, Boreas is a calm and impressive figure, fully dressed in Thracian martial fashion: around his shoulders is slung the *zeira*, the Thracian woollen cloak decorated with bold patterns, he carries two spears, the favoured weapon of the Thracians (and also, as Sourvinou-Inwood notes, a phallic symbol of suppressed violence and aggression - spears or swords are often found in chase/rape sequences¹⁷⁸); on his head is a helmet which combines the Thracian *alopekis* (fur hat) with the round leather helmet of the Greek hoplite. However, he does wear a Greek chiton rather than a tunic and trousers; this Boreas is not as barbaric as he appears,

behind which grows an olive tree. Does this represent the sacred olive tree on the Acropolis?

¹⁷⁷ The reverse of the hydria shows a similar scene involving Poseidon and a woman, while another woman hastens away. The Poseidon-Woman scene has less of the liveliness of the Boreas-Oreithuia sequence. For more on chase/rape scenes, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48.

¹⁷⁸ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48: 131.

caught in the middle ground between being Thracian and being Greek: this has not won him the hand of Oreithuia, so he reverts to his Thracian barbarity in order to steal her away. This image may be compared to one on a volute-crater in London (fig.19), which again shows Boreas in Thracian dress, his body completely covered by the *zeira*. A high boot peeks out from beneath the cloak, and his hair is covered by a speckled cap surmounted by a crown. An individual touch to this painting is that part of the left half of the cloak is held open by the god, making it three-dimensional, and it also suggests that he will scoop up Oreithuia and wrap her in his cloak to carry her away. He also appears to be blowing on Oreithuia: his lips are pursed and his cheek bulges slightly¹⁷⁹. Here is Boreas as the mythographers describe him: the cold, blustery wind from barbaric Thrace. Oreithuia and her companions, too, are dressed warmly in heavy himatia over their chitons, their hands tucked inside to keep warm, perhaps indicating the chill of the Wind-god's sudden appearance.

At this point in time, it is possible that the images still had contemporary meaning, the memory of the events of 480 only a decade in the past, and this would appear to be borne out by the emphasis on Boreas as a Thracian, and not a Greek - the concept of Athens maintaining power over 'barbaric' states by fair means (the marriage-bond) rather than foul; the Persians may have abandoned their immediate plans to conquer Greece, but the war continued in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, so it may well have been in the popular mindset to continue to remind oneself of the close escape Athens and Greece had had from enslavement by the Persians. Certainly over the next two decades, this idea underwent some alteration as Athens, under Themistokles and especially Pericles, began to change its outlook radically and emerged as the dominant power in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. This 'new broom' effect can be seen in the art of the period, and in the way that myths could be renewed to fit the social attitude of the time.

¹⁷⁹ Not unlike later sculpted images of Wind-gods. This is the earliest example of a wind-god in the act of blowing or breathing wind, but we may expect that it was a common image in sculpture well before the Roman period, although no such pieces are extant.

(iii) 460 - 440 B.C.

These two decades produce some of the most interesting variants of the myth. Chief amongst those depicting the scene is the Niobid Painter, of whose extant work on the Boreas-Oreithuia subject we have some seven pots. Four of these feature the goddess Athena as one of the protagonists, although it is not clear whether she is meant to represent a statue or manifestation of the goddess. The pelike (fig.20) shows Athena standing between Boreas and Oreithuia, her expression severe as she glares at the Wind-god. Although martial in aspect, she makes no move to hinder Boreas in his attempt; perhaps she is a statue, a motif also common in representations of such myths in later Italiote pottery¹⁸⁰. The hydria (fig.21) also shows a stationary Athena, this time to the right of the abduction, and it would appear that Oreithuia is running towards her in order to gain sanctuary. A second hydria (fig.22) shows the goddess as more active; again in the centre of the field, she flings up one hand in a gesture of arrest, halting Boreas' lunge for the princess. A third hydria (fig.23), however, returns Athena to the wings of the scene and she is perhaps once more a statue - perhaps literally in this example as she is wearing a peplos, similar to the one offered to her cult statue on the Acropolis during the Panathenaea¹⁸¹. The majority of these Niobid Painter 'Athena' pots also include Erechtheus and/or Cecrops¹⁸² in addition to the usual fleeing female companions, but fig.23 also features a woman running towards the abduction scene, carrying a small dolphin in her hand. This may seem like a bizarre accessory, which Kaempf-Dimitriadou attributes to the Niobid Painter 'confusing' the Nereid Oreithuia (*Il.* XVIII.39) with the Attic princess¹⁸³, agreeing in part with the argument of Loeschke (see above). The Nereid could possibly be serving two functions at once - reminding the viewer of the Homeric Oreithuia, and at the same time recalling Poseidon, whose usual attributes in iconography are a trident and a dolphin; Poseidon is, as we have already seen, worshipped in Attic cult alongside Erechtheus, so the triple association of Poseidon, Erechtheus and Athena with Boreas and Oreithuia brings together

¹⁸⁰ See fig. I.

¹⁸¹ K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich, Hirmer Verlag, 1981; p.322.

¹⁸² See S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49, for the naming of the figures.

¹⁸³ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou in *LIMC*, 'Boreas', p.141.

almost all of the elements from the Persian War propaganda of the previous decades, but in a much more eclectic manner¹⁸⁴.

The Niobid Painter also produced a series of miniature scenes on the necks of kraters, featuring a youthful, beardless Boreas (figs.24-26). This has led to the figure being identified as Zephyrus, a Boread, or Eros by Boardman:

The interpretation of the pursuit scene... is difficult and the two figures on the right [of fig. 26] may suggest that this is more a matter of an apparition than an attack. The winged figure should not be Boreas or a Boread as they are usually bearded (the father at least), booted, and often shaggy. It may be Eros, who sometimes appears thus, though he does not usually pursue women except on behalf of another god...¹⁸⁵

If one compares fig.26 to the two other scenes, it would be difficult to call the winged figure an 'apparition'; he is definitely in pursuit of the girl before him, whom we shall call Oreithuia. All three scenes have fleeing female companions (some with flowers¹⁸⁶), and the two complete craters also depict bearded men carrying staffs; fig. 25 has two such, one of whom is standing at an altar¹⁸⁷. This brings to mind the composition of the Berlin Painter's stamnos, which represented a ritual procession to Athena Polias, and so this, too, would appear to be the same sequence of events. One would hesitate to identify the figure as Eros, who is usually depicted as a naked youth, and although it is indeed possible that the figure could be a Boread (they are rarely bearded and shaggy, despite Boardman's assertion), there are no extant tales which describe Zetes or Calais disrupting a festival in order to abduct a woman¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁴ See also C. Sourvinou-Inwood in *supra* n.48: p.88.n21, where she writes that the Nereid can also be taken to be an allusion to the Cape Sepias incident.

¹⁸⁵ J. Boardman, "Old Smyrna: the Attic Pottery", *BSA* 53/54 (1958-9); p.171.

¹⁸⁶ See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48: 137.

¹⁸⁷ The Niobid Painter liked to paint chase/rape sequences, many of which look the same, particularly the miniature scenes - compare these three pots with the lower register of the hydria from Vulci, Rome, Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17882 (Hermes chases Herse, girls flee to Erechtheus); the calyx-crater at Batumi Museum, upper register, Theseus chases a woman, girls flee to authority figures (men with staffs); and the volute-crater in Bologna Museo Civico Pell 269, another Thesus and woman scene. See M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, for illustrations and discussion on this iconography.

¹⁸⁸ See, however, K. Schefold, *supra* n.181; p.323. He refers to an Etruscan cup published by J. D. Beazley (in *Etruscan Vase Painters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974; p.4; 55-6; pl.XII) which shows in the tondo a naked youth carrying aloft a girl; their names are inscribed *Zetun* (the non-standard Etruscan form of Zetes) and *Phuipa* (Etruscan standard form of Phoibe). As Beazley says, "The story is not known" - possibly this rape occurred during a variant tale of the Argonauts' voyages.

As for Boreas appearing as a youth, although it is unusual - especially as the Niobid Painter has illustrated the same myth on a larger canvas with Boreas as a mature, bearded man - it is not completely unheard of: Zephyrus, generally represented as a handsome youth, appears as an older bearded man on a column-crater of 470 by the Eucharides Painter. In the present case, the Niobid Painter could be presenting the more gentle aspect of Boreas¹⁸⁹.

Fig.27 shows a drawing of a hydria previously in the Hamilton collection which may be compared with slightly later scenes of the following decade (figs.28-29). These place the abduction around the fetching of water, a typically feminine pursuit, as was the washing of clothes at a spring. In fig.27 the hydria falls to the ground and Boreas leaps over it; fig.28 features two hydriae, one held by a girl fleeing to Erechtheus while the other is dropped in consternation as the Wind-god appears to seize Oreithuia. While it is possible that the artist of fig.27 intended to portray the Panathenaea by the inclusion of the hydriae, which were carried by women in the ritual procession (see fig.7), it is also probable that the myth has been altered yet again in order to explain why the girls were out-of-doors. A trip to the fountain to fetch water is one of the few opportunities when a well-born woman was allowed to leave her seclusion, and by being out-of-doors, a girl ran the risk of an erotic encounter: as Buxton points out, Greek myth (and art) took the "latent fear of out-of-doors women... [and carried] it to an extreme" by the suggestion of rape¹⁹⁰ - Hercules and Auge, Poseidon and Amymone, Boreas and Oreithuia. One should also recall that a spring is something wild and untamed, even in the heart of a city, yet as a fountainhouse it is a symbol of civilisation, the two diametric opposites which may also typify the marriage of Boreas and Oreithuia through the binding of two diverse elements - the barbarian Thracian Wind-god with his blustering force as a symbol of

¹⁸⁹ Alternatively, it may be related to the contemporary fashion for beardlessness in Athens, apparently begun by Pheidias' beardless Dionysus on the Parthenon. This began something of a trend amongst other media, including pottery paintings of the god; indeed, the Niobid Painter depicted a beardless Dionysus which "failed to inspire copies" (T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth Century Athens*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997: 85; 98). Perhaps the Niobid Painter also decided to gauge public reaction to a beardless Boreas?

¹⁹⁰ R. Buxton, *supra* n.68: 112.

the wilderness, and the princess of the royal house of Erechtheus, autochthonically sprung from the Earth, as the symbol of civilisation¹⁹¹.

Yet another variant on the abduction may be seen on the lower register of a belly-lekythos in Naples (fig.30); in this scene, which appears to be from a festival procession, a girl runs from the left towards the abduction, carrying two small items in her raised hands, a gesture mirrored by a second girl further around the field who holds the objects aloft. To the left of Boreas, a girl flees away from the scene, carrying a wineskin. What is the significance of these objects? The small items clutched by the girls are identified by Kaempf-Dimitriadou as balls¹⁹², yet the shape is not exactly spherical, more diamond-shaped. Balls could be a possibility if the artist envisaged a festival procession to Artemis/Aphrodite - girls would offer their childhood toys to a goddess (usually Artemis/Aphrodite) before their wedding as a symbol of their transition to adulthood¹⁹³. However, the shape, and the way these objects are carried, does not suggest that they are balls; perhaps they are something meant to be carried in ritual procession, for example, fruits, perhaps pomegranates, as a symbol of the *korai*¹⁹⁴. Certainly the attitude in which the girls are holding these items suggests an offering rather than anything else, and if these things are meant to represent balls, then why do the girls still clutch them when on other pots they drop what they are holding? Is this some sort of offering to drive off or pacify Boreas¹⁹⁵?

The girl with the wineskin is somewhat more problematic. Although Aristophanes places a wineskin in a central role of the *Thesmophoriazusae*¹⁹⁶, it is by

¹⁹¹ This connection is explored more thoroughly by the poets and writers of antiquity when they discuss the various locations of the rape; see section III.1 below.

¹⁹² S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49: 108.

¹⁹³ E. Simon, *supra* n.82: 42.

¹⁹⁴ Early Attic *korai* statues frequently hold pomegranates in remembrance of the original Kore (Persephone), who was obliged to spend six months with her abductor/husband, Hades, after eating six pomegranate seeds whilst in the Underworld.

¹⁹⁵ The spherical objects could also be symbolic of femininity/marriage, as they resemble the 'cotton balls' frequently seen being collected by women from plants (for example, on the juglet c.470-460, found in Grave 94, Area XX of the Kerameikos, now in the Öberlander Museum, Athens), or stored in wool chests in the home (e.g. on a small skyphos, 410-390, from the Kerameikos, Öberlander Museum 16026). There is also the possibility that they could represent the ritual 'eggs' that were buried with the body during the archaic period (examples from Nikosthenes' workshop, c.540, no.1650, to be found in the Öberlander Museum), marking some kind of cult/hero worship of the dead.

¹⁹⁶ Arist. *Thes.* 730ff.

no means certain that drinking was an integral part of this secret women-only festival. Perhaps it was, and perhaps, therefore, the objects held by the two women on the lekkythos are the ritual seed-cakes eaten during the Thesmophoria. However, this identification collapses with the appearance of Erechtheus on the reverse of the scene; he would not be permitted to enter the festival and see the rites of Demeter. His presence may be there to underline, once more, the link with Athens, but the Thesmophoria was celebrated all over Greece; what, then, does the wineskin represent? Possibly it is a symbol of irrational behaviour or licentiousness - women and wine go well together, if we are to believe Aristophanes - and as Boreas was acting primarily through force of lust when he abducted Oreithuia, there is a slight case to be made for the inclusion of the wineskin.

It is probably useless to try to identify a particular festival by reference to the objects featured in the various scenes, but do we really need to do such a thing? Pottery painters would know one version of the myth - that Oreithuia was abducted from a festival - but which *specific* festival ceases to have any relevance after the initial upsurge of interest in the myth following the Cape Sepias incident faded. The focus now seems to be on fitting the Boreas-Oreithuia myth into the established canon of chase/rape sequences favoured by painters during this period. This gradual shift in the perception of the myth may also be seen in fig.31, a column-crater by the Nausicaa Painter. In this representation, Boreas is perhaps an intentionally humorous figure - his legs and back bent like an old man, his hands out making a wild clawing gesture at the fleeing Oreithuia. Around his waist is wrapped a length of cloth, tied at the front like a loin-cloth. This works as a visual joke, the cloth bulging out at the front of the groin like an erection. His wings, normally so large and fine, are here reduced to small, stubby things; his stooping attitude makes his head bob forwards, so that he resembles a pigeon or some other large, stupid, bird. Using a myth as parody is nothing new: in the same vein we may see the bowl by the Sabouroff Painter (Munich Antikensammlung v.Sch. 60) as containing elements of parody, with Boreas depicted as a lecherous old man while Oreithuia is young and pretty. One reason for this comic aspect to the myth may be the popularity of the Aeschylean

Oreithuia, one version of which may have been a satyr play¹⁹⁷, and of the archaic *skolion* (drinking-song) entitled 'Boreas'¹⁹⁸, and so we can imagine that this was a bawdy, irreverent song rather than anything serious.

A further development in the depiction of Boreas may be seen in fig.32, showing the god bounding - or flying¹⁹⁹ - through the air; but the interesting feature of this pot is that the painter has given Boreas wings from his temples in addition to those on his back - the only known extant example of its kind in painted pottery, as they are usually found in sculptural art or mosaic - the Mithraic busts of Wind-gods, for example - although for this particular image, the inspiration most likely came from a painting, which suggests that either this depiction was copied from a public painting, like the scenes in the *Lesche*, or was from an artist's copy-book, as suggested by Vickers and Gill²⁰⁰.

(iv) 440 - 410 B.C.

This is the period in which the Boreas-Oreithuia myth reappears in its original Athenian status, with Boreas as the saviour of Athens, on the completion of two major religious buildings - the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (430 B.C) and the Temple of the Athenians on Delos (420 B.C). Both temples featured the couple on their acroteria, although they are very much fragmentary now, with the Delian piece the better-preserved of the two. Their appearance in these sanctuaries is explained in terms of the Persian Wars: Rhamnous was the closest place to Marathon (a swamp-land) suitable to build a temple that celebrated the nemesis of the Persians, while Delos was the site of the treasury of the Delian League formed by Athens and her (eventually) vassal states, set up to ensure that the Persians never again attempted to invade Greece.

¹⁹⁷ See fig.40 and discussion.

¹⁹⁸ Attic Skolia frg.28, in Hesychius' *Glossary*, in *Lyra Graeca III*, tr. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb, 1959: 576.

¹⁹⁹ There is an unpublished hydria fragment in the Love collection in New York which apparently shows a flying Boreas: "Der Windgott kommt waagerecht durch die Luft heran geflogen und hat sein Opfer bereits erfasst. Es ist die früheste Darstellung mit einem fliegenden Boreas" - which is, if one may take this current example to show a flying wind-god, not strictly true. M. Prange, *supra* n.177: 60. See also the bowl by the Heidelberg Painter, Mainz University 108 for a 'flying' Boreas.

²⁰⁰ M. Vickers and D. W. J. Gill, *supra* n.36: 156-9.

The Rhamnousian group is extant only from the feet to the knees, alleged by Karusou²⁰¹ to show Boreas to the right seizing Oreithuia and lifting her up into the air (fig.33); with such incomplete material to work with, it is difficult to identify with any degree of certainty that this is indeed Boreas and Oreithuia. If, for sake of argument, we accept that it is so, then we have several problems to address. Karusou writes that, from the fifth century, the main chase/rape sequences involve Hades and Persephone, the Dioscuri and the Leucippides, and Boreas and Oreithuia; therefore the only plausible identification for the acroterion is that of the last²⁰². She presents Pausanias 1.33.2 as evidence to support her theory: the statue of Nemesis was carved by Pheidias from a single block of Parian marble that the invading Persians brought with them when they landed at Marathon, such was their confidence that they would triumph over the Athenians. The Persians intended on making a monument to their victory, and thus the same block of marble was used by the Athenians to make Rhamnousian Nemesis, goddess of vengeance, a fitting symbol to mark Persian *hubris*. To continue in the same vein, Karusou believes that the acroteria reflect similar instances of Persian defeat - and the Cape Sepias incident was one such time.

Delivorrias disagrees with Karusou, seeing instead an abduction of Helen. The main reason for this alternative argument seems to rest on the fact that "Boreas auf <allen Vasenbildern> den bronzehydrien und dem Akroter des Athenertempels in Delos nicht von rechts... sondern von links kommt"²⁰³. This is a very weak line of reasoning to follow, as to claim that 'all' of the scenes show Boreas running in from the left is incorrect - five prove the exception to what would appear to be an artistic norm²⁰⁴, which may, or may not, have any relevance on the representation of the myth. The pursuer is most often the figure running in from the left, the pursued most often the figure fleeing to the right, no matter what the identification - Boreas and

²⁰¹ S. Karusou, "Ein Akroter Klassischer Zeit", *AM* 77 (1962): 181.

²⁰² Ibid. This is not strictly true, as Theseus and Antiope/uninscribed woman was also a popular motif at this time, not just on pottery but also in the sculptural record, for example, at Eretria.

²⁰³ A. Delivorrias in K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 46, n.87.

²⁰⁴ Namely, a column-crater in the style of the Alkimachos Painter, Ruvo Museum Jatta 873; oinochoe by the Pan Painter, London British Museum E512; Apulian oinochoe by the Salting Painter, Paris, Louvre K35; Campanian belly-lekythos, Compiègne Museum Vivenel 1972; and a Campanian bell-crater by the Ixion Painter, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1894.5.

Oreithuia, Theseus and a woman, Hermes and Herse, Zeus and Ganymede, Poseidon and Amphritite, Eros and a girl or boy - so while there is something of a tradition for pottery painters to depict chase sequences in this time-honoured fashion, does it really follow that a sculptural group will also bow to the dictates of pottery painters?

The proximity in time between the Rhamnousian and the Delian groups is estimated at a mere ten years, and one would imagine that the Rhamnousian group could well be Boreas and Oreithuia simply because of the importance of the myth at the time when the temples were initially planned, designed, and begun - in other words, after the events of the summer of 480, when Boreas was at the height of his popularity with the Athenians, who would understandably choose to reflect their victory in an appropriate manner and with the appropriate gods, as argued by Karusou above.

Certainly the group from Delos cannot be misidentified (fig.34). The Temple of the Athenians faces west across the main harbour, and must have been an impressive sight to ships putting in to dock. It had no pedimental sculpture or metopes, only acroterial groups, which was in direct contrast to the construction and design of contemporary temples like the Parthenon, which had highly-decorated pediments and simple acroteria. The Delos temple, with its figures placed on top of the centre of the empty pediment, provides a platform for the winged figures of Eos and Cephalos, Boreas and Oreithuia, who leap upwards; as Bruno writes: "The motif seems to have been calculated to provide a connecting link between the sacred structure and the heavens"²⁰⁵. To the west, the acroterion shows Eos carrying off Kephalos²⁰⁶, while two women flee to either side, and a deer or hound dashes away to the right. Boreas and Oreithuia feature on the east of the temple, accompanied by two fleeing women and a running horse, which leaps past the princess' feet. Its purpose is to hide the support on which Oreithuia stands so as to give the impression of being carried aloft, but it also serves to remind the viewer of the connection

²⁰⁵ V. J. Bruno, "Transformations of a God in Action", in *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*, ed. L. Bonfante and H. Von Heintze, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1976: 59.

²⁰⁶ Erechtheus' grandson, the offspring of Herse and Hermes; like Boreas seizing Oreithuia, Hermes first spotted Herse during a festival and then afterwards approached her.

between horses and the Winds - swift and strong, and, through Homer's *Iliad* XX.222, indicative of great wealth and the Erechtheid royal house.

Bruno noticed that the head and torso of the Boreas figure is a 'transformed' copy of Pheidias' Poseidon from the Parthenon; the posture and twist of the body, the position of the head, and the well-defined musculature are quite clearly the same. Although the name of the Delian sculptor is unknown, he was extremely gifted and had a good eye for copying; it is difficult to produce an accurate copy of an original, and it takes a certain type of talent to alter the original to produce something that is new, yet which still retains the feeling of the first piece. The reasons for the deliberate copying of the Parthenon Poseidon may be complex or simple, but this is not the place to discuss these reasons²⁰⁷.

Following the usual pattern of temple construction, the 'front door' of the temple would be to the east, the side showing Boreas and Oreithuia. This would be more logical than presenting Eos and Cephalos as the focal point of the temple, as Boreas had done more for Athens than had his mother, Eos.

The interest in Boreas and Oreithuia on pottery was declining throughout the period 440-410, and we have very few examples of the pair. One Boeotian black-figured skyphos (fig.35) shows the Wind-god in action as a subsidiary character in the *Odyssey*. The skyphos comes from the Cabeiran sanctuary at Thebes, and was made specially as a dedication, as many other vessels of this type have been discovered with similar comic or burlesque treatment of the subjects. The scene shows Odysseus being blown across the sea by Boreas, striding over a pot-raft made from two pointed amphorae, accompanied by two fish leaping above the waves. Odysseus clutches a trident in his right hand, possibly a reference to his enmity with Poseidon; he is naked, comically grotesque and ugly, with large genitals and a fat stomach and buttocks. His cloak billows out behind him like a sail bellying in the wind.

Boreas is shown to the right of the scene as a head that develops from the skyphos handle. Like Odysseus, he is depicted in a comic manner, almost resembling a monkey with heavy brows, a low hairline, flat nose and scraggly beard. His cheek is

²⁰⁷ See V. J. Bruno, *supra* n.205, for a full discussion.

puffed out and he purses his lips as he blows Odysseus on his way; this image is akin to that of an unidentified Wind-god on an Italiote oinochoe by the Arpi Painter, which blows furiously upon the fallen Typhon as Zeus and Hermes attack him (see fig.80).

The reverse of this skyphos shows Odysseus confronting Circe at her loom, but the scene involving Boreas cannot really be identified in the *Odyssey*, as the North Wind is mentioned on several occasions in connection with sea-travel.

(v) 410 - 330 B.C.

This period marks a radical departure in the depiction of Boreas and his bride, particularly on Italian pottery, of which we have seven extant examples. Some of these are highly evolved from the Classical Attic scenes, while others are simply bizarre and fantastical - in some instances, this is due to the theatrical nature of the images, as Italiote Greeks showed great interest in myths and their relationship to drama to the point that many of the pots depict what Trendall terms 'movie poster' scenes featuring lots of action and the main protagonists²⁰⁸. This helps to explain why the costume on Italian pottery is so elaborate, and why there is such emphasis on background and props - the altar, the temple, a rock, and so forth²⁰⁹. In every case featuring Boreas and Oreithuia, the god is shown bodily seizing the princess and carrying her off, a composition rarely seen on Attic pottery²¹⁰. Consequently, the Italian pots show a more erotic scene, losing the semi-politicised Attic meaning behind the revival of the Boreas-Oreithuia genre: this may be seen especially in fig.36, a Campanian belly-lekythos which shows Boreas overpowering Oreithuia as she gathers flowers from the riverbank. The bodies are positioned in the same spoon-like curve, and there is an element of surprise as the princess is attacked from behind. Boreas tears at her clothes, giving the viewer a voyeuristic glimpse of her legs and breasts as she staggers under the sudden weight of the god. This is, more than any

²⁰⁸ A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1989; p.12.

²⁰⁹ An hydria from Ruvo by the Meleager Painter shows the 'movie poster' image to perfection, although it is likely that this representation is not of Boreas and Oreithuia but of a Boread seizing a woman - possibly Zetes and Phoibe (J. D. Beazley, *ARV* 1412.50). See fig.1.

²¹⁰ Only the Oreithuia Painter (480-475 B.C) uses this composition; see figs.9-10.

other image, the perfect illustration of how far removed we now are from the myth symbolising the Cape Sepias incident. Even in other media, the interest has shifted away from the pair as saviours of Athens and tends towards other themes such as death or marriage.

Fig.37 shows Boreas wrestling with the struggling Oreithuia, a true abduction scene as the girl tries to throw off her attacker. They stand on a giant acanthus-calyx, almost lost in the mass of vegetation; since this plant can serve no particular purpose - as Boreas is not a Wind-god connected to fertility of plants - then we presumably have a case of *horror vacui*, common amongst Apulian pottery painters at this time²¹¹. This may be compared with the later amphora by the Darius Painter (fig.38), showing a similar scene set in a riot of vegetation²¹²; but within the forty years between the two pots, a noticeable change has taken place: Oreithuia makes no attempt to struggle, and Boreas has a rather weary expression - the image of the god seizing his bride to carry her off to Thrace has lost its impact and has become somewhat trite.

The identification of the figures on fig.39 is uncertain, but it would appear that an unusual rendering of the myth is shown by the Capua Boreas Painter. The god seizes the princess from a procession, scattering cult objects in his wake. To the left, a seated goddess raises her hand in benediction to the pair; her identification is difficult to ascertain, but she would appear to be Aphrodite, and as goddess of sexual love, her approval in a rape would be guaranteed; and we may compare her with the stern Athena of the Niobid Painter to appreciate just how far the myth has come in its variant readings.

Boreas is depicted as undulating onto the scene from bottom left, and he has no wings. Instead, his naked chest is speckled with hair, and his lower body is dressed in the skirt of a long chiton, held up by a wide belt. This puts one in mind of the archaic serpentine Boreas from the Chest of Cypselus, and it is also worth noting

²¹¹ See A. D. Trendall, *supra* n.208, for further examples of this.

²¹² M. Longtin pointed out that this could be an instance of *dérèglement de la nature*, a transfer in imagery of the emotion of the moment and intensity of the action away from the central figures of Boreas and Oreithuia to the surrounding vegetation. I am grateful to him for this suggestion.

that Typhon is also depicted as half-snake; perhaps the Capua Boreas Painter had this in mind.

Scattered around the scene are various ritualistic objects: a *kiste*, an alabastron, several ritual honeycakes²¹³, and a basket. Burns writes of this:

the energy expended in snatching Oreithyia is symbolically (*sic*) represented by his scattering cult objects. This indicates that Boreas is abducting Oreithyia while she is on her way to sacrifice to Athena²¹⁴.

But does it? The objects all have meaning within themselves: the box, in ritual, contains things that cannot be seen by the uninitiated²¹⁵; if this were an Attic pot, we could find a reference here to the Arrephoria (discussed above). As this is an Italian pot, the suggestion may here be more literal, that some things should be kept secret. Alternatively, since the cult items cannot be tied to one specific festival, but would appear to be indicative of a festival in general (but one linked to women, because of the box, basket and alabastron), then it is probable that they were included in this scene to show the strength of Boreas' desire for the princess: not even the threat of sacrilege, and divine retribution for disturbing a religious procession, will stop him from seizing Oreithyia - this would partly explain the presence of Aphrodite as well, encouraging Boreas in his quest.

An action-packed scene is shown in fig.40, an Apulian volute-crater by the Lycurgus Painter. In the centre of the field, a naked and shaggy-haired Boreas seizes Oreithyia, while to the top left of the couple sits a finely-dressed woman holding a libation bowl, seated beside a tall laver²¹⁶. She turns to watch the abduction, but seems unconcerned by it - perhaps she is a representation of Aphrodite, as before. To the right, an old priestess with sparse white hair runs off behind an altar, dropping her libation bowl with dismay and gesturing with both hands. At her feet lies the key to the temple, and to her right is a ribbon or veil, signifying the temple interior. To the

²¹³ Honeycakes were often used as sops or ritual food for snakes - see Hdt. VIII.41 for the snake beneath the temple of Athena. This may or may not have significance for this scene; most likely not, due to the confusion of cultic objects which leads one to the conclusion that, once again, no specific festival is intended in the representation.

²¹⁴ J. Burns, *supra* n.94; p.222.

²¹⁵ W. Burkert, *supra* n.151; p.276.

²¹⁶ H. B. Walters, "Boreas and Oreithyia on an Apulian Vase", *JHS* 51 (1931): 87.

bottom right, a girl falls to the ground in terror, casting aside a large libation bowl, and to the bottom left is Silenus, leader of Dionysus' satyrs. He moves off to the left, looking back at the scene and grinning, waving with one hand and holding a large wreath of flowers in the other. Walters described Silenus' appearance as a "stock-type", acting a scene-filler, as he has no real involvement with the main action²¹⁷ - unless he can be said to provide (lascivious) comment on the abduction. A second reading would place Silenus as the *paidagogos* figure, making this an illustration of a drama, perhaps one version of Aeschylus' lost *Oreithuia*. He could also be there to suggest the marriage ceremony that will follow the abduction, as he holds a wreath of flowers, and his reputation as leader of Dionysus' satyrs refers to the heavy drinking that would accompany a marriage-feast. All the elements are there for it to be a synoptic 'movie poster' of the action of the play - Aphrodite as *dea ex machina*, the central protagonists, the priestess of Athena and the hint of the festival to Athena Polias (libation bowls and the temple key), plus two witnesses - the girl and Silenus - who will deliver the message to the other central characters of the play - one of whom will presumably be Erechtheus. Silenus' appearance could also indicate that this is not a serious drama; as satyr plays were performed as entertainment before the main production of the tragedy, and were written by the same poet, then perhaps this is a representation of a bawdy comic version of an *Oreithuia* play - or a later (Italian) production based on Aeschylus' original tragedy.

The penultimate image from the Boreas-Oreithuia corpus on pottery is the bell-crater from the Ixion Painter (fig.41) and the hydria copied from the same by an inferior artist (fig.42). The crater shows a wingless Boreas dragging Oreithuia towards his horse while she appeals to a group of three complacent figures. From the left, a woman stands facing the abduction, identified either as Aphrodite or Peitho (Persuasion)²¹⁸. We have already seen how Aphrodite may be considered an important addition to the genre of Italiote pottery, so her appearance here would not be unusual. However, some identify the seated woman as Aphrodite instead²¹⁹; this figure is larger, and is seated on a rock, looking at Oreithuia. She makes a dismissive gesture to the

²¹⁷ Ibid; p.88.

²¹⁸ P. Gardner, "Boreas and Oreithyia on a late Attic vase", *JHS* 18 (1898):138.

²¹⁹ Ibid; S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou in *LIMC* 'Boreas', p.137.

princess with her right hand. Other possible identifications include a locality goddess - for example, Callirhoe²²⁰, the sacred spring that flows into the Ilissus river to the south of the Acropolis - or Gaia²²¹. This latter identification is an interesting possibility: Gardner points out that Gaia is the mother of Erechtheus/Erichthonius, and therefore Oreithuia's ancestress. Oreithuia therefore appeals to the Earth-goddess (who sits, appropriately enough, on a rock), who does nothing to help the princess, because

knowing the future well, [Gaia] might probably regard with complaisance a deed of violence of which the results were so auspicious to the Athenians...²²²

Perhaps she would, but one must ask: how far back does the memory go of the help given by Boreas to the Athenians during the Persian Wars, and do Campanian Italiote Greeks really care? As before, the answer is probably in the negative; therefore, another identification must be found. Aphrodite as the seated woman is more likely: her figure is larger which would suggest greater importance than that of the slighter figure of the standing woman, whom we may tentatively label as Peitho. Another element in favour of the identification of Aphrodite is Eros, seen flying above her. It is to Eros that Oreithuia appeals to more than the women, which would be logical since Eros incites sexual desire in people/deities (Boreas, in this case).

Boreas is bearded but wingless, the artist relying on the oriental costume to provide the necessary identification. He wears Thracian boots, and, on the hydria, he has tattooed arms, a mark of rank amongst the Thracians; a Scythian hat; and Persian 'chain-mail' beneath his tunic - a composite costume of all the barbarian nations. The Scythian aspect is emphasised by the horse²²³, although Wind-gods and horses do have a special relationship²²⁴. Again, the horse could be serving a secondary purpose,

²²⁰ P. Gardner, *supra* n.218; p.139.

²²¹ *Ibid*; p.140.

²²² *Ibid*.

²²³ Scythia, being steppe-country, is best crossed using horses. Much of the art (mainly in precious metals) features horses and the nomadic Scythians tending to them. See R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians*, London, Batsford, 1989.

²²⁴ Due to the swiftness of both; horses, particularly in Homer, are described as "wind-swift", and in later literature we have the same connection, for example, Bacchylides V.45 in *Anth. Pal.*, tr. W. Paton, Loeb, 1926; see below, section 4.1 for more details. In art, the connection is less strong but it exists on at least two striking sculptural pieces: east metope 7 of the Parthenon and the Great Altar of Pergamon, which both depict the Winds as horses.

hinting at sexual desire - the horse was a common symbol of human or godly carnal appetite, as may be seen by creatures like the Centaurs, unable to hold their wine and lustfully chasing women. The poets also used the symbol of the horse to show either the waywardness of the object of affection (usually female) and the strength of lust²²⁵. This also shows the most violence by Boreas towards Oreithuia as he drags her away by the hair - again, the result of the move towards erotica in the hands of the Italian painters (and this may certainly be the case for the hydria, which features Oreithuia on her knees and stripped to the waist), or it could be indicative of the force of the North Wind, or could typify the savage barbarity of those considered to be living on the fringes of the (Greek) civilised world.

A final example from the Italian pottery record is that from an Etruscan false red figure alabastron, now in Mississippi²²⁶. Here we see Boreas (name inscribed) drifting along, his hair streaming behind him, in pursuit of a nymph. She is not Oreithuia - what is preserved of her name (_ _ IAN_ _A) suggests a spelling of 'Deinaira', which is the name of Hercules' last wife. There can be no doubt that this was made in Italy, as the false red figure style is typical of Etruria, and the 'N' and 'E' of the lettering are Etruscan in form. There is no extant literature to explain this myth of Boreas and 'Deianara', so it must stand as an odd and unique addition to the Boreas corpus.

Turning now to other media, we find one example of Boreas and Oreithuia on a fine silver-gilt rhyton (fig.43), dated to 410-400. Unlike other representations of the abduction, the rhyton presents the 'after', rather than the 'before': the couple are wed. The god reclines comfortably, tugging his reluctant bride across his lap, while to the left stands the smaller figure of Erechtheus leaning on his staff, and to the right Athena leans on her spear - they appear as witnesses to the marriage, which will prove beneficial to Athens. It is entirely possible that this rhyton was cast at an earlier date, perhaps the 450-440's²²⁷, and thus closer to the Cape Sepias incident. Rhyta were a

²²⁵ For example, Alcman *Parth.* (PMG 1); Ibykus PMG 287; and Anacreon PMG 417; for commentary on the Anacreon ("Thracian filly..."), see J. E. Robson, "Bestiality and bestial rape in Greek Myth", in S. Deacy and K. Pierce (eds.), *supra* n.58; pp.65-96; p.73.

²²⁶ Mississippi 1977.3.142, from the web-site *Perseus*.

²²⁷ The style of the figures is too advanced to be dated any earlier; I am grateful to Brian Sparkes for this information.

peculiarly Persian form of vessel²²⁸, and after 480 they began to appear in large numbers following Plataea²²⁹. Hoffmann says, "moulds remained in circulation for decades, and new moulds were made from old rhyta still on hand"²³⁰; therefore, an earlier date for the casting of this piece would make more sense chronologically, given the theme and the fact that it had almost dropped from artistic circulation by the 420's.

The pair also found favour in bronze, particularly as decorative emblems beneath the handles on hydriae. We have five extant examples alongside a similar motif from the cover of a folding mirror, so just the one example will here suffice to illustrate the myth in this medium - fig.44 shows an excellent piece of casting, the figure of Boreas imbued with power and motion. He swings his upper body to the right to catch Oreithuia, his right arm passing around her waist to pull her close to his chest. His head turns to the left, as if checking for witnesses. He wears a cloak and chiton fastened over one shoulder, both garments flying out with his abrupt movement. Oreithuia swoons violently in his grasp, her upper body bending backwards as her legs kick up at the god. Her head lolls towards the ground as she faints, her right arm raised to her head in despair.

All of the hydriae come from burial contexts in northern Greece, Thrace, or from the coast and islands of Asia Minor. Yet, they would appear to be made in Athens²³¹, especially as the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia is essentially Attic in origin. This does not rule out the possibility that the hydriae were cast elsewhere, as, like the Italian pots, the scene is more erotic than political, the myth stripped down to the two main protagonists, making it a rape scene more than any contextualised image. An alternative is to see the hydriae as relating a love story. Other bronze pieces from this period show Eros, Eros and Psyche, and Dionysus with Ariadne, all of which depict Love personified, or relate love stories with happy endings²³² (fairly unusual in Classical mythology, particularly between god and mortal woman), for Oreithuia, once married and living in Thrace, was happy with Boreas. However, the image of the rape is somewhat at variance with the other pieces, which show coyly entwined couples, so

²²⁸ H. Hoffmann, "The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta", *AK* 4 (1961), pp.21-27; p.21.

²²⁹ *Hdt.* IX.80.

²³⁰ H. Hoffmann, *supra* n.228; p.23ff.

²³¹ G. M. A. Richter, "A Fourth-Century Bronze Hydria in New York", *AJA* 50 (1946); p.366.

²³² "Romantic" stories, according to K. Schefold, *supra* n.181; p.322.

perhaps Richter is wrong in her judgement. She believes that these vessels, rather than being used for strictly funerary ritual, were given to brides as a wedding-gift, much like *loutrophoroi*²³³. This, then, brings in yet another version of the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, which has now been transformed from a complex pro-Athenian, post-war myth to Italiote erotica, to a Northern Greek love-story. Certainly the findspots of these hydriae are telling, as they are all colonies in what were once considered 'barbarian' lands. The irony of the use of the Boreas-Oreithuia motif by Athenian craftsmen for hydriae bound for the far outposts of the empire is particularly satisfying: showing Greek imperialism through the artistic record, pro-Athenian 'propaganda' via myth once more, even if it was unintentional.

The final medium in which the pair appear is terracotta relief lekythoi; like the bronzework, there is much similarity between pieces, although the more malleable nature of the clay allows for greater plasticity in execution, particularly in relation to the positioning of the figures - Oreithuia is sometimes being pulled from the ground, lifted above Boreas' shoulders, or seized from one side. As before, one piece should suffice to lead into a general discussion - fig.45 shows Boreas, naked and youthful, leaning his foot on a rock as he grasps Oreithuia about the waist. He wears Thracian boots, a cloak fastened at the throat, and a crown over his short curly hair. Oreithuia stands behind him, her upper body twisted forwards as she is pulled aloft; she also wears a crown, in addition to a chiton and cloak.

There is some discussion as to whether these figured lekythoi feature Boreas and Oreithuia. Simon²³⁴, Deubner²³⁵, Neuser²³⁶ and Kaempf-Dimitriadou²³⁷ all favour the Boreas-Oreithuia interpretation, but alternatives include Zetes and Phoibe²³⁸, a "Dämon des Totenreichs"²³⁹, and Thanatos²⁴⁰. It is unlikely to be Thanatos, as he features alone on his own figured lekythoi (for example, Berlin VC 4876); likewise, the male figure cannot be a 'demon of the underworld', since the only candidate for

²³³ Ibid; p.367.

²³⁴ E. Simon, *supra* n.78: 115.

²³⁵ O. Deubner, in *LIMC*, 'Boreas'; p.139.

²³⁶ K. Neuser, *supra* n.77; p.43.

²³⁷ S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, in *LIMC* 'Boreas'; p.139.

²³⁸ K. Schefold, *supra* n.181; p.323.

²³⁹ V. Trumpf-Lyritzaki in *LIMC*, 'Boreas'; p.139.

²⁴⁰ S. Karusou in *ibid*.

this title is Typhon, who does not fit iconographically with this figure²⁴¹. Zetes and Phoibe must remain a possibility, albeit an unlikely one as the myth is not that well known, and appears but rarely in art²⁴². Like the hydriae, there seems to be no especial reason for the Boreas-Oreithuia motif on the figured lekythoi - mythological couples seem prevalent in this medium²⁴³. Thus, we may see that the concept illustrated by the chase/rape sequences of the 460's onwards, that of the pursuit of a female ending in domestic felicitude, have by this period become even more emphatic in their depiction of the myth - rape is justified as long as there is a romantic 'happy ending' to it.

2.1.4. Discussion.

From its beginning with the Chest of Cypselus, we see that, in the artistic record, the myth of the Wind-god and his bride is a well-travelled one: from Corinth and Athens to Thrace and Rhodes to Italy. The first known depiction of the myth in art is described by Pausanias, and whether or not the myth is indigenous to Attica, Corinth provides a fitting point of origin, given the predominance of wind-*daimones* and Boreads in the pottery of that *polis*.

Attic pottery has the greatest amount of material relating to Boreas and Oreithuia, and it shows some versatility in the development of the iconography as the myth altered its status in the distance from the Cape Sepias incident that began the interest in Boreas and Oreithuia as saviours of Athens. Unsurprisingly, many of the scenes feature the Erechtheid family and religious symbols - the Sepias and Artemision wrecks firmly in mind, it may be expected that a generation of Athenians would recall this episode with clarity, and be proud of their 'son-in-law' and his connection with their city, a connection emphasised by the pottery painters by the inclusion of Athena and Erechtheus. By the 460's, the myth was changing - the figures were assumed to be well-known, or perhaps the original meaning of the myth was fading, to be replaced by the more common mid-fifth century chase/rape sequence. By the time of the Italiote pottery of the mid-fourth century, the myth has been distorted due both to time

²⁴¹ Typhon is always depicted with snake-tails instead of legs (see *LIMC*). Another possible identification is that of Hades abducting Persephone, although Hades does not have wings.

²⁴² See supra n.188.

²⁴³ K. Schefold, supra n.181; p.320.

elapsed and geographical space from Athens and the Persian Wars. The chase/rape sequence of Attic pottery, which would still have meaning if put into context by the (Athenian) viewer, has changed completely into yet another erotic pursuit scene. Richter, as we have seen above, prefers to see the motif of Boreas abducting Oreithuia as a romantic fancy, suitable for young brides and therefore placed upon valuable bronze hydriae which were given as wedding-gifts. Finally, the two pieces of sculpture at Rhamnous and Delos return to the image of Boreas and Oreithuia presented by the early Attic pottery painters, that of the saviours of the *polis*. This is due to the formal planning of the sculptural pieces for the temples, which were designed at least ten years before their completion (430-420), when the initial surge of interest in the pair was nearly dormant once more.

It could be argued that there are only a few stereotypical or stock versions of Boreas with Oreithuia - the winged and bearded god in pursuit of the fleeing maiden, usually decked out in her finery as befits a princess, her companions scattering in fear to bring the news to Erechtheus, the different backgrounds that the myth is placed against (flower-gathering, at the fountain-house, in procession, etc.) - and this is true, as all chase/rape scenes show much the same image; but as we have seen, each artist brings something fresh and new to the genre with every depiction. In some instances, copies are clearly being made, perhaps from another artist, or both artists from a separate, non-extant source; yet even these change the finer details. Within the Attic tradition, the iconography of the myth changed from commemorative to the erotic within a period of forty years - time enough for social values to change, particularly after the victory over the Persians - but we would suggest instead that an explanation for the shift in emphasis lay not so much in geographical considerations as in social and artistic conventions already in place.

Oreithuia, as a daughter of the ruling house of Athens, must marry: it is her duty to her father and to her *oikos*. She is *parthenos*, one of the "marriageable but unmarried females"²⁴⁴. Deacy constructs a model of three different types of young

²⁴⁴ S. Deacy, "The Vulnerability of Athena" in S. Deacy and K. Pierce (eds.), *supra* n.58; pp.43-63; p.43.

parthenoi to be found in myth, and Oreithuia may be considered as an example of one who has sexual intercourse with a god. Of this type of *parthenoi* Deacy says:

The encounters generally take place when the females are temporarily away from the protection of the *oikos*, and precipitate the birth of offspring exceptional in some way... The motif of festival rape is used, whereby young female worshippers who are temporarily away from the *oikos* become prey for rapists.²⁴⁵

Oreithuia was seized from the festival to Athena Polias, when fetching water, or when gathering flowers or playing with friends on the riverbank of the Ilissus, situated outside of the city walls - all examples of a girl outside her *oikos*, and therefore vulnerable to attack; and the 'exceptional offspring' are the Argonaut heroes Zetes and Calais.

Deacy points to a confusion as to whether there is implicit consent from this type of *parthenos* - Lefkowitz suggests that the rape of Europa by Zeus held an element of consent on the girl's behalf: she was picking flowers when Zeus approached her in the form of a handsome bull breathing a saffron scent²⁴⁶, and she readily clambered onto his back, charmed by the beauty of the beast; but Deacy disagrees, perceiving the setting as adding to the brutality of the abduction, which is obviously "lacking mutuality"²⁴⁷. The same can be said for Oreithuia: whatever her occupation prior to the rape, she, like Europa, is still the innocent victim, and Boreas the aggressive pursuer - and one must bear in mind that he, being the North Wind, is more violent than most suitors by his very nature.

Erechtheus, although her father, was under no obligation to inform Oreithuia of interested suitors as she had no choice in the matter, and the violence of this particular abduction is worsened precisely because her father rejected Boreas as an unsuitable husband. This relates both to the female's fear of marriage, and to the chase/rape sequences of mid-fifth century Attic pottery, generally accepted to be both erotic and yet symbolic of marriage, using Sourvinou-Inwood's arguments²⁴⁸ as illustration: the erotic pursuit scene of fleeing female and pursuing male may often

²⁴⁵ Ibid; p.44 and 54. For another example of festival rape, see Eur. *Ion* 545-54.

²⁴⁶ M. Lefkowitz, *supra* n.95: 25.

²⁴⁷ S. Deacy, *supra* n.244: 45.

²⁴⁸ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *supra* n.48: 73-4.

denote marriage, as the figure to the side of the scene, the passive older male holding a sceptre, is likely to be the father of the 'bride'. Thus we have many examples of Boreas pursuing Oreithuia while Erechtheus and sometimes Cecrops look on, and it is here that myth and its representation in art have parted company. Erechtheus specifically forbade the union between his daughter and the wild god of the North Wind, yet on the majority of the pottery, Erechtheus stands by in passive acquiescence as his daughter is abducted. To be sure, this is due to the 'propaganda' aspect of the scene, as the marriage was fortunate for Athens; but it is interesting that only one painter should show an image that corresponds to the literature: the Pan Painter (fig.12), who presents a grieving Erechtheus seated on a rock, wrapped in his cloak - mourning his daughter and his weakened *oikos*. Perhaps this comes closer to a representation of the Aeschylean *Oreithuia* play(s) than, say, the Munich amphora by the Oreithuia Painter in fig.10 - it is very much an image of a tragedy, rather than a chase/rape sequence purely meant to titillate/educate.

So it is that the earliest depictions of the Boreas-Oreithuia myth concentrate on the propagandising aspect by the inclusion of Erechtheus, Cecrops and the Aglaurids as symbols of Athens, while Erechtheus' role as a father is relegated to a secondary concern - placing the interests of the *polis* before the *oikos*²⁴⁹. However, with the development of the erotic chase/rape sequence into its own specific genre, the motif of Boreas and Oreithuia underwent a similar change, and thus the shift was made towards Erechtheus as a father-figure rather than as a symbol of Athens' superiority. This may be seen particularly clearly on the larger pieces by the Niobid Painter, who places the figure of Athena as either goddess or cult statue as the symbol of the *polis* while Erechtheus stands in his position as head of the *oikos*. This shift would also go some way to explaining Erechtheus' sudden disappearance altogether; Italiote pottery has no need of such authority figures as its emphasis is not so much on glory for the *polis* or a marriage to expand the *oikos* as on eroticism for its own sake: when subsidiary characters appear, they are merely there to illustrate the erotic

²⁴⁹ Erechtheus does this twice after the abduction of Oreithuia - he sacrifices his youngest daughter Otiona to save Athens, and two of her sisters join her in death by flinging themselves from the Acropolis; and he sacrifices his own life when he goes to war against Eumolpus, his grandson. Oreithuia's 'sacrifice' is much less traumatic, as she at least enjoys an unusually happy ending in Thrace as a wife and mother.

impulse of the main protagonists, for example, Aphrodite, Eros and Peitho on fig.43. Likewise, the bronze hydriae do not have to represent something romantic as Richter suggests; they show Boreas abducting Oreithuia, an act of violence rather than of coy romance which is the theme of Richter's comparative pieces. But this violence and the subordination of Oreithuia through rape have their parallels in marriage, the coercion of the female to marry the suitor chosen for her²⁵⁰, and so may have been deemed just as suitable a gift for a young bride as a romantic scene showing the man and woman as, artistically at least, equal partners. This may be due to the fact that the main point of the story is the actual abduction itself and the begetting of the 'exceptional offspring' rather than what happened afterwards, yet it is striking that Oreithuia, one of the many mortal women pursued by the gods, happens to end the abduction with a marriage rather than being simply seduced and abandoned, as is common practice amongst the gods - perhaps suggesting to the young bride that life can sometimes be like myth, despite the rocky beginnings of her married relationship.

2.2. Zephyrus.

Zephyrus, god of the West Wind, is known in the artistic record of antiquity mainly on account of his romantic attachments, which are somewhat more numerous than those of his brother Boreas; his lovers include the Spartan youth Hyacinthus, the goddess of the Rainbow, Iris, and the goddess of flowers, Chloris-Flora. All of these unions are documented and illustrated; however, the myth of Zephyrus' rape of the Harpy Podarge (*Iliad* XVI.148-151) is not represented, possibly because Harpies were not perceived as creatures of beauty but of rapaciousness, and instead are shown pursued by the Boreads, Zetes and Calaïs, in the tale of Phineus from the *Argonautica*. There are only sixteen extant images that depict Zephyrus alone or with his lovers, and many of these are, at best, not securely identified. None of them, save one, is inscribed (and for this, see fig.109 and discussion in section 3.4). The identifications were made in the nineteenth century and have been challenged ever since, although the tenuous weight of academic approval seems yet to rest with the 'Zephyrus' identity rather than

²⁵⁰ S. Deacy, *supra* n.244, p.45.

any other (Eros is a favourite contender), possibly because nothing better, with stronger evidence to back a new identification, can be suggested.

Meteorologically, the west wind on mainland Greece is a warm and gentle breeze, with the worst of the westerly winds from the Ionian Sea dispersed on the west coast. For Sparta and Athens, westerly winds tended to be mountain downdraughts - occasionally strong and gusty but generally quite mild. This gentle nature of the wind is reflected in both poetry and art; literature usually romanticises Zephyrus, but earlier writers depict a tendency towards violence - thus *Iliad* XXIII.192ff presents Iris arriving at "stormy Zephyrus' halls" and faced with the sight of "his brawling banquet" when she brings the request from Zeus for the Winds to fan the flames of Sarpedon's funeral pyre. This violence is also implicit in the courtship of Hyacinthus and Chloris-Flora; the youth was killed accidentally, and Chloris-Flora was a victim of rape, although, like Boreas with Oreithuia, Zephyrus did offer marriage to her after the abduction.

The duality of a natural force can be seen throughout the artistic record for Wind-gods, and is generally shown by the physical representation of the being - Boreas, as befits a wild and powerful wind, is mature, bearded, clothed in appropriate dress and with shaggy hair. Zephyrus is young, handsome, naked, and either wears his hair short or long; occasionally, as we have seen with Boreas (fig.26-8), an inversion of the standard iconography can occur. We have already noted the phenomenon of the *palimboreas*, the reversal of the north wind before the meltemi arrives, resulting in a short period of southerly winds, an event that would be common knowledge to people living on the east coast of Greece, and it is precisely this duality that allows Boreas to have two different, seemingly opposite, iconographies. It is also thus with Zephyrus; at sea, the west wind is very forceful, particularly around the fingers of the Peloponnese, the Cytheran Straits, amongst the Cyclades and off the coast of southern Crete; yet on land, it is, by contrast, calmer. Unlike the north wind, the duality of which lasts but a limited period, the west wind is an almost continual presence, so its dual nature is more noticeable. This duality of Zephyrus may go some way to explaining not just his occasional representation as his iconographic opposite, but also the nature of his 'bisexuality'.

2.2.1. Zephyrus and Hyacinthus.

Zephyrus enjoys a brief period of popularity in the late Archaic-early Classical (490-460) phase of Attic red-figure pottery, the period that Dover identifies as part of the principal time when scenes of homosexual courtship, pursuit and rape became standard iconographic fare²⁵¹, outstripping equivalent heterosexual depictions. Dover relates that these representations gradually fell from fashion at about the same time as erotic literature, both homosexual and heterosexual, first appeared in force. Exactly why there should be a lapse in time between the artistic image and the verbal portrayal is unclear: Dover suggests several reasons, for example, the scene suited the shape of the pot (a tenuous argument), or it was expected of a particular painter²⁵². Keuls, however, believes that a certain “uneasiness” began to surround homosexuality around 480, which led to a decline in its representation in art²⁵³. The oft-discussed laws on *hubris* were meant to protect youths from the unwelcome attentions of older men²⁵⁴; gods, however, are above mortal *hubris*, and were consequently depicted on pottery of this transitional period as being very much the aggressive pursuers, in what has been termed ‘fantasy’ depictions of scenes that before were enacted by mortals: Zephyrus is

²⁵¹ K. J. Dover, *supra* n.55: 7.

²⁵² *Ibid*; p.8.

²⁵³ E. C. Keuls, *supra* n.50; p.287ff.

²⁵⁴ Perhaps the best discussions on the *hubris* laws may be found in N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris: A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame*, Warminster Press, 1992; and D. Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*, CUP, 1994: 171-202. Cohen argues that although the Athenians accepted homosexuality, specifically pederasty, they also viewed it with great disquiet, realising the danger it could pose to the *polis*: boys who slept with men did so for gain, and also played the woman’s part, therefore they were not worthy to become citizens. Since women were not available for courtship (“a deep human need”, according to Cohen on p.194) due to their secluded and guarded position in the household, and it was considered shameful to court prostitutes and slaves, this necessitated the seduction of boys instead. Boys are not yet men - they cannot produce semen, and they do not have body hair, therefore they are woman-like; and yet, they should feel no pleasure in being used as a woman (Xen. *Symp.* VIII.22). The pursuit of boys became almost an agonistic rite of honour (for the *erastes*) vs. shame (for the *eromenos*) - see Plato, *Symp.* 182a, 183c-d, 232a and 234a - yet at the same time, it was an action frowned upon by the law. It is difficult to make sense of the laws that remain: a boy may consent to sex with his lover, but that would leave the lover open to prosecution from the boy’s family for *hubris*; as a boy is not yet a man, he is free of *hubris* and the blame will naturally devolve upon his seducer. Moreover, legally, the mere fact that the boy *did* consent to sex has dire implications for his citizen status when he becomes an adult. However, the *hubris* laws were probably more of a threat or safeguard than a reality, as it would take actual physical evidence (like Lysias’ defence of Euphiletos, who killed Eratosthenes for seducing his wife: Lysias I.4, 17, 25), and not just gossip, to bring the case to trial.

one such example - albeit of a minor deity - as he is shown variously entreating, pursuing, and carrying off Hyacinthus, the beloved of Apollo.

Hyacinthus was the son of the Spartan king Amyklas, and his beauty attracted the attention of both Apollo and Zephyrus. The youth understandably chose the Olympian god as his lover, while Zephyrus retreated to suffer his unrequited passion from afar. One day, as Apollo was teaching Hyacinthus to throw the discus, Zephyrus decided to take action: either from a desire to help the youth's discus fly further than Apollo's, or from jealous spite, the West Wind blew hard upon the discus, causing it to veer about. It struck Hyacinthus and killed him; in his grief, Apollo changed the boy into a flower, which bears on its petals the marks of mourning: AI AI²⁵⁵. The tale is best known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* X.162ff, but this makes no mention of Zephyrus' jealousy and his subsequent part in the youth's death; indeed, the only authors to create this love triangle were the fourth century elegiast Palaiphatus²⁵⁶, and Lucian²⁵⁷. Certainly this version of the tale was known to Roman artists, as Philostratus the Elder describes a painting of the myth in his *Imagines*²⁵⁸ which was echoed some years later by his grandson, Philostratus the Younger²⁵⁹; however, in the Greek record, matters are more complicated.

There is some discussion as to whether the god depicted on the Attic red-figure pottery is, in fact, Zephyrus: Vermeule, Shapiro and Sichtermann all name the figure as Eros²⁶⁰, whereas Boardman and LaRocca, Kilmer and Dover accept the identification as that of Zephyrus²⁶¹. Others, such as Pettersson, choose to have no

²⁵⁵ Although the flower should be known as the hyacinth, it is not the plant that we today identify as such.

²⁵⁶ *De Incredibilia*, in B. Sargent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth*, London, Athlone Press, 1987: 81ff.

²⁵⁷ *Dialogues of the Gods* 14.

²⁵⁸ *Imagines* 1.24 (tr. A. Fairbanks, Loeb, 1931). Philostratus was describing paintings, not so much to praise the artist as to attempt to provide a mental 'word picture', a kind of exercise in the power of lyrical description.

²⁵⁹ *Imagines* 14 (tr. A. Fairbanks, Loeb, 1931). Possibly he is discussing the same painting; one cannot entirely tell from the text, although I feel that it probably is the same painting, as Philostratus the Younger wanted to emulate and better his grandfather's work.

²⁶⁰ E. Vermeule, "Some Erotica in Boston", *AntK.* 12 (1969): pp.9-16; H. A. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase Painting", *AJA* 85 (1981): p.142, n.71; H. Sichtermann, "Hyacinthus", *Jdl* 71 (1956): pp. 97-123.

²⁶¹ J. Boardman and E. LaRocca, *Eros in Greece*, London, John Murray, 1978: 100; M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica*, London, Duckworth, 1993; fig.R595; also Kilmer in S. Deacy and K. Pierce (eds), *supra* n.58: 32-66; K. Dover, *supra* n.55; p.89.

opinion on the matter, pointing out that in many erotic scenes such as these, the figures are more or less interchangeable - much like the male-female chase/rape sequences typified by Boreas and Oreithuia²⁶². Without painted inscriptions to name the protagonists, speculation will remain rife. However, there are certain indications which may lead one away from the identification of the winged figure as that of Eros; this god, in either singular or plural (Erotes) form, became a fairly popular iconographic image in the Classical period, and he is generally depicted chasing or hovering beside women, although there are several instances of him pursuing youths (with a whip in Kilmer's R770 (fig.88) and with a barber's knife in Kilmer's R552 - a possible reference to the barbed and painful nature of Love). Kaempf-Dimitriadou believes that Eros' presence generally indicates that he is acting on another's behalf²⁶³ (usually a god, for example, Zeus), or is there as a representation of the abstract of 'Love', a theory that is widely accepted given the preponderance of Erotes in scenes of passion - see the Boreas-Oreithuia example of fig.42 as an illustration of this. Boardman goes on to note that the Zephyrus/Hyacinthus myth is the "better explanation"²⁶⁴ for the scenes than Eros and a youth, although he does believe that the Eros-youth pursuit scenes with a weapon involved deserve careful handling, as they are suggestive of a particular genre²⁶⁵. Kilmer is inclined to abstain from the argument, but does say that he favours the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus reading as "Eros [would] have been too important a god for burlesque or flippant treatment of this form in Attica"²⁶⁶; this comment relates to his argument concerning Olympian deities shown pursuing, not capturing, the object of their desire²⁶⁷.

The corpus of Zephyrus-Hyacinthus images is small, with some sixteen pieces on which this subject may be identified, although at least two are doubtful attributions. The earliest representations are three cup-tondi of 490-480, seemingly sequential, one signed by Douris and the others apparently copies of the first. The signed cup (fig.46;

²⁶² M. Pettersson, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta*, Paul Åström's Förlag, Stockholm 1992; p.32.

²⁶³ J. Boardman, in review of S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *CR* 30 (1980); p.305.

²⁶⁴ J. Boardman and E. LaRocca, *supra* n.261: 101.

²⁶⁵ J. Boardman, *supra* n.263: 305.

²⁶⁶ M. Kilmer, *supra* n.261: 17, n.13.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*; and the Erotes featured in these cases have flaccid penises, not erect as in the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus examples by Douris.

Boston 95.31) shows Zephyrus carrying off Hyacinthus; they lie horizontally, as if the god has swooped down and swept the youth away before he has had a chance to protest. Stylised foliage occupies the bottom third of the scene in an elegant tangle, signifying that this is the correct position for viewing the image²⁶⁸. Hyacinthus is not unwilling: his left hand brushes Zephyrus' upper arm, while his right hand cups the back of the god's head in a pose suggestive of the typical *eromenos* response of mortal homosexual lovers²⁶⁹. Zephyrus is the more active participant, with his legs bent and his head thrown backwards, the feathers on his wings just touching his feet. This posture, while admirably filling the space of the tondo, would also increase the downward pressure of the body, concentrating it along the thighs, hips and stomach: thus an erotic image is created, rather than one which is overtly sexual. Both figures are youthful and attractive, although Zephyrus, as befits a god/*erastes*, has a more impressive physique: a deeper chest, more muscular thighs and buttocks. A striking feature of this image is that Zephyrus is the one to tilt his head back, an action usually associated on pottery with the *eromenos*²⁷⁰ as the younger and therefore smaller of the pair, but it is an action that the *erastes* may also make²⁷¹ when getting into position for sex²⁷².

²⁶⁸ This is borne out by the placing of the cup handles. The tondo is a little off-centre by about 6° compared to the position of the handles, but the image is intended to be read at the horizontal rather than the vertical.

²⁶⁹ See, for example, Dover (supra n.55) at R59, R196, and particularly R520.

²⁷⁰ See Dover's R27, R59, R196.

²⁷¹ See Dover's B76, B114, B271, R520 and R573.

²⁷² There needs to be some discussion on the physical homosexual practices of the ancient Greeks. The act is generally identified as 'intercrural sex', which is a somewhat misleading term as the thighs have nothing to do with the physical reality. The 'intercrural' position is not often shown consummated on red figure (save for the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus image, fig.48a,b) but is more common on black figure (see Dover B114, B250, B494, and B634), where the *erastes* bends his knees to push his erect penis apparently between the thighs of the *eromenos*. However, this is not quite the case. I have been reliably informed that what is actually going on is that the *erastes*' penis is pushed between and beneath the scrotal sac, so that the penis lies partly against the perineum. For an older or taller man to achieve this position, he would naturally have to bend his knees and would also need to exert some kind of strong grip on the youth (which is often seen - for example, Zephyrus clutches Hyacinthus' thigh to hold him in place on fig.46), otherwise it is an impossible position to maintain. This would then alter the understanding of what Beazley called the 'up and down' gesture (J.D. Beazley, "Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 33 (1947); p.199; Dover supra n.55; p.94ff), when the *erastes* briefly touches the face of his *eromenos* whilst at the same time touching his genitals. This would then be a form of accelerated courtship; the acceptance of the caress to the face showing consent to more sexual acts, while the handling of the genitals is *not* to bring pleasure to the *eromenos* (who is not supposed to enjoy the act: Xen. *Symp.* VIII.22; cf. Ari. *Prob.* 879b. ff, and NE 1149a15, b25 and 1150b10; thus reflected in the flaccid

Fig.47 (Berlin F2305), attributed by its subject matter to Douris but clearly not by the same painter, shows Zephyrus in a similar position as on the Boston cup, but his head and wings are tilted forwards. If the Boston Zephyrus depicts the god enjoying his prize, then the Berlin Zephyrus is still in the act of seizing the youth. This Hyacinthus actively struggles, bending his upper body away from his abductor, a pose emphasised by the left arm hanging down, still clutching a lyre. The stylised foliage on the Berlin cup appears to the left of the scene, presumably because the lyre occupies the space in which it was painted on the Boston tondo; although the flower cannot really be of help in orienting the scene, one would imagine that it would make more sense to read the image horizontally rather than vertically. This scene is generally considered to show god and youth engaging in 'intercrural' sex (see n.290); however, if a comparison is made with other scenes of this genre, involving mortal men and youths, then 'intercrural' intercourse tends to show the *erastes* in full erection (see fig.48a). This, then, taken together with the angle of head and wings, strongly suggests that this scene depicts the immediate act of capture, with the inclusion of Zephyrus' genitals as an indication of the inevitable rape to follow.

The last of the 'Douris' cups in this sequence, Boston 13.94 (fig.48a), is very fragmentary and the attribution is again not secure. The extant pieces show Zephyrus thrusting his erect penis between Hyacinthus' thighs, completely disregarding the cloak wrapped around the youth. The appearance of the cloak has made critics ask whether this may be seen as Hyacinthus at all, especially as the other two tondi show the youth naked²⁷³; indeed, may we even be certain that it is male and not female? For the latter point, the lyre on the second fragment would suggest that it was a youth and not a maiden who is being molested here, although the former point is more difficult to answer: the lyre may be seen in the second of the 'Douris' pots, but then, the lyre was

state of the *eromenos*' penis, which one would imagine to be slightly more responsive in reality!), but is merely part of the preparation for this particular kind of sex: indeed, one can see it clearly at Dover R520, where the *erastes* is lifting the boy's scrotum; cf. B250, where the boy's penis and scrotum have been lifted for the insertion of the *erastes*' penis. Just for the record, I have also been reliably informed that, in the pursuit of pleasure, this particular position - 'intercrural' sex with both partners informed that, in the pursuit of pleasure, this particular position - 'intercrural' sex with both partners standing facing each other - is not the best way; it would work lying down, however (as this would give the necessary grip to maintain the position), which is interesting as Douris' Zephyrus-Hyacinthus scenes are to be seen horizontally and not vertically.

²⁷³ Especially E. Vermeule, supra n.260: 9-16, who sees this, as with the rest of the Douris cups, as "Eros and a youth".

one of the attributes of a mortal beloved of a god²⁷⁴, and as such, is quite a common feature of this genre. In that this fragment closely follows the other two cups, let us for now assume that it does show Zephyrus with Hyacinthus. The most striking thing about this scene is the actual depiction of 'intercrural' sex; apart from infrequent examples upon (mainly) black figure pottery (see n.290), it was unusual to show a mythological figure (with the exception of satyrs) engaged in such explicit activity²⁷⁵. Gods on red-figure pottery of this period invariably chase their beloveds, but do not consummate their passion. Kilmer suggests that Zephyrus can be assigned to the same category as Pan, the only other god to sport an erection during this phase; both are minor divinities, and thus "this lesser status may have been enough to allow them to be shown physically involved in sexual acts"²⁷⁶. Alternatively, the display of their sexuality may be explained by the fact that Pan and Zephyrus could be considered as 'fertility deities': Pan took over Hermes' role as protector of flock, field and woodland, and, like the archaic Hermes, was initially conceived of as being a male fertility god, usually depicted as ithyphallic. Zephyrus, as may be seen in the literature, can also be perceived in this light, as it is he, the West Wind, who brings the Springtime, the warm weather and the showers²⁷⁷.

It is difficult to envisage the full picture from the fragments of the cup. Kilmer suggests that Zephyrus' arm encircles Hyacinthus' chest²⁷⁸, as he does on the other two cups; however, I do not think this is possible given the position of Hyacinthus' torso, which is pulled sharply away from the god at an even more extreme angle than that of the Berlin cup. It is this peculiar composition which leads one to agree with Boardman's view that the figures should be seen as standing (or flying) upright²⁷⁹. The tendrils of foliage are again of little use in determining the orientation of the tondo, although one would imagine that the palmette is meant to be viewed vertically rather

²⁷⁴ Tithonos, beloved of Eos, frequently holds onto a lyre: see Dover R912, R391, R801; see also R684 for a mortal man reaching out to touch a youth, who beats him off with a lyre, possibly in a pastiche of the usual scene featuring deities and youths.

²⁷⁵ M. F. Kilmer, *supra* n.261: 17, n.14; "rather daring", as Boardman says in Boardman and LaRocca, *supra* n.251: 100.

²⁷⁶ M. Kilmer, *ibid.*

²⁷⁷ This is particularly true of the Roman vision of Zephyrus: see, for example, Ovid, *Fasti* V.183-378, cf. with the artistic record on the Tower of the Winds (Zephyrus holding a cloak full of flowers).

²⁷⁸ M. Kilmer, *supra* n.261.

²⁷⁹ J. Boardman and E. LaRocca, *supra* n.261.

than horizontally, but in order for the image to make any kind of artistic sense, then the figures must be placed vertically (fig.48b), which brings the scene closer to representations of mortal homosexual couplings, which is, perhaps, the point of the artist - and would therefore agree with the point made above on the didactic/fantasy nature of some subjects on pottery.

The period from 470-460 includes four skyphoi, three by the Lewis Painter, which apparently feature Zephyrus-Hyacinthus. Vienna IV.191 (fig.49) undeniably shows the god with the youth; Hyacinthus sits astride a flying swan, the symbol of Apollo, and possibly the god in disguise²⁸⁰. Apollo has no need of Eros to do his dirty work for him; the corpus of Hyacinthus and Apollo-as-a-swan representations is fairly large²⁸¹, and the sexual tone of these depictions, including this one, is unmistakable, as the swan's head and long neck rise phallus-like from between the boy's thighs. The youth holds something out towards Zephyrus; Kaempf-Dimitriadou suggests that the item is a yo-yo²⁸², although it appears rather to be a pendant, possibly a love-gift from Apollo which Hyacinthus is proudly displaying. Hyacinthus has a rather cruel smile on his face, as if he is secure in the knowledge that he is the beloved of a god more powerful than Zephyrus, who starts forward towards the boy on the other side of the skyphos, one arm outstretched in entreaty, a cloak wrapped around the other - possibly a love-gift for Hyacinthus²⁸³. Zephyrus' dejection is made more apparent by his drooping wings, and although the god is depicted as young and handsome, Hyacinthus looks (unusually) less like a beautiful youth and more like a spoilt child.

Brussels A72 (fig.50) shows the fleeing Hyacinthus on one side while Zephyrus pursues him on the other. The youth adopts the gesture of the usual unwilling *eromenos*, looking back over his shoulder and gesturing to signal his rejection, while

²⁸⁰ The swan was also the symbol of Aphrodite, but it is more likely in this case to be that of Apollo, as Aphrodite would have no need of her son Eros in matters of love. The composition better suits the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus tale of Lucian, where the Olympian is the victor in the boy's affections, rather than a straightforward Eros-youth scene.

²⁸¹ LIMC, "Hyacinthus"; some thirty-one examples in pottery, terracotta and marble groups.

²⁸² S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, in LIMC "Hyacinthus"; p.549, no.41.

²⁸³ Cloaks could be offered as love-gifts and were very useful when it came to actual intercourse - a number of archaic scenes show the *erastes* wrapped up in a cloak with his *eromenos*, and there is a well-known joke between Sophocles and Euripides when one accuses the other of losing his cloak while dallying outside the city with a boy. The youth stole the poet's cloak as a prize and all Athens laughed at him the next day. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII.604.

his cloak slides off his body as he runs to hide in a copse of trees. Zephyrus literally flies after him, his body horizontal in the air, his arms outstretched in entreaty - possibly this pose owes something to the 'Douris' cups of the preceding decade, which were presumably very popular, given the fact that we have three very similar images.

Schwerin 731 (fig.51) and Naples 126057 (fig.52) are two almost identical skyphoi by the Lewis Painter, showing what Beazley supposed to be Zephyrus and Hyacinthus²⁸⁴, although he also listed the same pots under 'Iris', while Smith believes the figures to be Eos and Tithonos/Cephalos²⁸⁵. The skyphoi depict a winged deity dressed in a short pleated tunic, running towards a fleeing youth. This deity touches the head of a rather phallic-looking plant as (s)he passes by. The youth wears a cloak draped about his shoulders, and runs past an altar or herm-base. A brief glance at the figure of Schwerin 731 shows that this is intended to be a female - the curve of the breast is unmistakable. Beazley's mistake may be explained by the occasional appearance of a well-developed chest on a male figure, particularly in black-figure pottery²⁸⁶; however, the clinching point must surely be the absence of male genitalia beneath the skirt of the tunic: in all other examples, Zephyrus is depicted naked, and, with one exception (Boston 95.31), his penis is fully visible. In these contexts, it underlines that (i) he is a god; Hyacinthus, being mortal, holds onto something material - be it a cloak or a lyre, again with the exception of Boston 95.31; and (ii) the outcome of the flight-pursuit sequence is sexual conquest. Therefore, it would be unusual to depict a male deity in this genre fully clothed, and as the line of the thighs can be clearly seen beneath the cloth of the tunic on Schwerin 731, then this figure is undoubtedly female, and thus may be identified as Eos.

The Naples skyphos shows a similar deity with spiky, windswept hair, an attribute common to Boreas. The tunic is longer, and the image is less technically-accomplished than the Schwerin example, and although Neuser identifies the figure as Zephyrus, comparing it to the former skyphos with the argument "Wie die Mutter, so der Sohn"²⁸⁷, this fails to be convincing. The fact that the figure is dressed in such a

²⁸⁴ J. D. Beazley, *ARV2*, p.517.

²⁸⁵ H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewismaler*, Leipzig, *Bilder griechischer Vasen B*; *CVA DDR I*, Schwerin; p.22-23.

²⁸⁶ See, for example, Dover B76.

²⁸⁷ K. Neuser, *supra* n.77; p.128.

way strongly suggests that it should be perceived as female, especially as the chest seems overdeveloped for a male, but could it be Boreas? Certainly Sargent relates how both Zephyrus and Boreas were lovers of young men²⁸⁸, and if this were Boreas, then it would be an unprecedented example of a myth unknown to both literary and artistic records, which should make one hesitate in the attribution but not necessarily to dismiss it out of hand - however, one would *expect* Boreas to be bearded if this was to be the correct reading, although as we have seen with the miniature paintings of a youthful, beardless Boreas by the Niobid Painter, nothing is ever certain with images of the Wind-gods. However, the figure is more feminine than masculine, and Schefold has suggested that it could represent Chione, the daughter of Boreas and Oreithuia²⁸⁹. Roberston goes a little further, nominating Chione's sister, Cleopatra, instead - particularly as Sophocles devotes part of a choral song to Cleopatra's life in the *Antigone* (l.966-987). Says Robertson:

[one likes] to think that the painter of the Naples vase and the poet [Sophocles] had a wall-painting of the young Cleopatra in mind²⁹⁰.

However, it is unlikely to be Cleopatra who is thus depicted, given that she was married to Phineus and raising her children. It is more likely to be Chione, who was seduced by Poseidon and bore him Eumolpus - the 'shamed' sister, seduced and abandoned outside wedlock, is the most likely candidate for this wild, shaggy-haired woman who chases the hapless youth.

An unusual addition to the small corpus of Zephyrus-Hyacinthus material is the column-crater by the Eucharides Painter, Ferrara 2666 (fig.53), which features a naked and bearded Zephyrus chasing, with half-erect penis, the fleeing Hyacinthus, who is dressed in a cloak and is carrying a stick, perhaps hinting at some kind of rustic idyll, as the stick would suggest that the youth was acting as shepherd. Zephyrus carries a cloak over his right arm as he reaches out to the youth, which in this case is surely not

²⁸⁸ B. Sargent, *supra* n.256; he has no literary or artistic references to validate his claim, however. While we have seen above that the absence of literature does not necessarily equal the absence of items in the artistic record, one should always exercise caution in attributions. This particular pot is especially difficult to read, and I would be tempted to assign to the figure the label of Eos rather than that of a wind-god, simply from the style of the painting and the dress.

²⁸⁹ K. Schefold, *supra* n.181: 326.

²⁹⁰ M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*, OUP, 1992: 169.

a courting gift since Hyacinthus already wears such a garment. Another suggestion as to the identity of the bearded figure is that it could be one of the Boreads, Zetes or Calaïs, a popular enough pair in early black-figure pottery, particularly Corinthian, but less so in the later Attic red-figure period. Did the Boreads chase boys? The third century B.C. elegiast Phanocles related that Orpheus and Calaïs were lovers, although Sargent dismissed this as literary fancy, since both men were both Thracians and Argonauts²⁹¹. It may well be Boreas himself; although we have no extant literary tale that tells of his passion for boys, this does not mean to say that no such story existed. Surely the North Wind that is wild enough to carry off princesses and to rape horses would not shrink from abducting a beautiful boy, should fancy take him. However, it could yet be Zephyrus - just as Boreas was depicted as clean-shaven in the Niobid Painter's miniatures, so the trend can be reversed to show Zephyrus as bearded. The beard was a sign of maturity, both in social and in sexual terms, and so perhaps the Eucharides Painter was drawing the distinction between the *erastes* and the *eromenos*.

Another problematic piece may be seen in fig.54, a white-ground, double-sided bobbin or disc dating to 460. The god approaches Hyacinthus from the left, laying hold of his right arm while his other hand touches the youth's back. He wears a red ribbon tied around his right bicep, and a fillet in his hair. Hyacinthus looks surprised or disheartened; he clutches a lyre and the trailing edge of his cloak as it slips from his body. He, too, wears a fillet in his hair. Both god and youth are very beautiful, with long, curling hair - something considered to be desirable on an attractive boy. Reinhardt suggests that these figures should be identified as Thanatos with a youth²⁹². Earlier pottery depicted Thanatos and his brother Hypnos as bearded²⁹³, which altered later to show Thanatos bearded and Hypnos clean-shaven, generally on white-ground lekythoi - and this led to some confusion within catalogues, as uninscribed pairs were identified as Boreas and Zephyrus acting as psychopomps rather than Hypnos and Thanatos carrying off the dead. Reinhardt compares the bobbin scene to that of a lekythos in the British Museum; it is customary, he argues, to show Thanatos taking

²⁹¹ B. Sargent, *supra* n.256: 259.

²⁹² H. Reinhardt, "Thanatos oder Zephyrus?", *AntK.* XXIII, 1980: 44.

²⁹³ For example, the calyx-crater by Euphronios and Euxitheos, c.510, showing Hypnos and Thanatos lifting Sarpedon under Hermes' instructions.

the dead/dying person by their right arm, in readiness to lead them away²⁹⁴. This continues in the genre to show scenes which depict Hermes Psychopompos fetching the dead: he takes his or her right hand, or merely gestures with his own right hand. Certainly the fact that the bobbin is a piece of white-ground pottery would in itself suggest that some link with death could be expected, but this is not necessarily the case. The bobbin is a fairly unique item, and this piece has no provenance; similar bobbins have been found though, such as the one in the Athenian Agora²⁹⁵, which may suggest a domestic context.

Finally, some years after the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus myth dropped from the artistic record of Greece, it makes a reappearance in Italy, on a Lucanian bell-crater of 440-430 (fig.55). Zephyrus strides towards Hyacinthus, arms outstretched, while the youth hurries away to the right, a cloak draped over his left arm while he makes a negative gesture with his right hand. It is not a particularly good piece, and again, there is dispute over the identification - Williams²⁹⁶ and Schauenberg²⁹⁷ believe the figures to be Eros with a boy, while Trendall²⁹⁸ firmly recognises Zephyrus and Hyacinthus.

2.2.3. Zephyrus and Iris.

The literary version of this myth is preserved in a fragment of Alcaeus, which speaks of Eros being the child of Zephyrus and Iris²⁹⁹. This is a rather poetic fancy, the union of the West Wind and the Rainbow creating Love, and so the few extant pieces whose figures are identified as Zephyrus and Iris are mainly related to Aphrodite as well. Fig.56 shows a terracotta relief from Taranto, dating to 470-460, depicting Aphrodite drawn on a sea-borne chariot by two naked winged figures, identified as Zephyrus and Iris. A similar scene can be found at Locris (fig.57), of the same date, and representing Aphrodite accompanied by Hermes, standing in a chariot drawn by two smaller winged figures. The female is clothed in the Locrian piece, and they hold

²⁹⁴ H. Reinhardt, *supra* n.292.

²⁹⁵ Athens, Agora, 3092.

²⁹⁶ D. Williams, *Greek Vases*, London, British Museum Press, 1985: 59, pl.61a.

²⁹⁷ K. Schauenberg, "Götterliebe auf unteritalischen Vasen", *AuA* 10 (1961): 81.

²⁹⁸ A. D. Trendall, *Red-Figure Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, OUP 1967: 16.

²⁹⁹ Alcaeus frg.13, *To Love*, in *Lyra Graeca* I, tr. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb 1963: 329.

an alabastron and a dove. It is likely that the identification is correct, as the only other winged pair in mythology are Eros and Psyche, and it would be strange if Aphrodite's son were to be put to work pulling her chariot.

It would appear that the couple found favour in bronzework also, like Boreas and Oreithuia. Five late fourth century bronze hydriae, found in Epiros and Asia Minor in burial contexts, show a pair of winged figures (fig.58). Richter sees them as Eros and Psyche³⁰⁰, but exercises caution, as various scholars reject the Psyche identification, since there is no (literary) evidence to connect the figure with the Psyche of Apuleius or Plato³⁰¹. Neuser therefore believes the figures to represent Zephyrus and Iris, quoting Simon:

...Ruhige Gegenbilder zu dem stürmisch bewegten anderen <Windpaar>
Boreas und Oreithuia, das in derselben Zeit bronzene Hydrein
schmückt³⁰²

- that is, these Zephyrus-Iris hydriae relate to the hydriae of Boreas-Oreithuia by presenting the other side of love, the gentle, affectionate side rather than the forcible rape and marriage suffered by Oreithuia. Indeed, the Zephyrus-Iris hydriae show a coyly affectionate pair, caressing or reaching out to one another; however, we should be doubtful as to this identification, based as it is purely on the fragment of Alcaeus (especially as he was an Archaic poet and over two hundred years separate him from the casting of the hydriae). In this case, tempting though it is to identify the winged figures as Zephyrus and Iris, we would agree with Richter's suggestion of Eros, accompanied by Psyche.

2.2.3. Zephyrus and Chloris/Flora.

The final representation of Zephyrus in the artistic record is a Roman wall-painting of the fourth style from the Casa del Navigio in Pompeii (fig.59), showing the god descending to the maiden Chloris (Flora). This story was made popular by Ovid's *Fasti* V.195ff, in which, while explaining the festival of the Floralia, he narrates the tale of Flora (Chloris), her rape by, and marriage to, Zephyrus. It must have struck a

³⁰⁰ G. M. A. Richter, *supra* n.231: 364.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*; p.366, n.22; Apuleius' Psyche has no wings at all, even after being elevated to godhead.

³⁰² K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 138.

chord somewhere: the painting is magnificent, and in style and form is very like another image of Dionysus discovering Ariadne upon the Naxian beach. Zephyrus descends from the heavens accompanied by two small Erotes, urged on by Aphrodite (accompanied by more Erotes), who is enthroned to the left. Below, a winged woman (Peitho?) sitting at Chloris' head raises her hands to Zephyrus. Chloris seems to be in a swoon, lolling against Peitho as an Erotes uncovers her upper body for Zephyrus. The scene appears to be set on a mountainside, and there is a stream running past Chloris' feet. The identification of the main figures in this painting is uncertain, but we may say that in favour of viewing them as Zephyrus and Chloris, the barren background of the rocky mountainside seems applicable - for in Ovid's tale, it is *after* their marriage that Zephyrus brings flowers to his bride: hence the absence of any vegetation in this painting.

In conclusion, then, we may read the iconography of Zephyrus in a single way: that of a fertility-god. His liaison with Hyacinthus is ultimately a symbol of regeneration; Apollo playing his part as sun-god while Zephyrus represents the wind bringing fine weather and spring showers to make the crops grow, which in this myth are symbolised by the death of Hyacinthus and his new life as a flower (see section 4.1.ii.b below for more on this). Zephyrus' union with Iris is explicable by dint of Alcaeus' lyric fancy, making two deities of the sky the parents of Eros, himself a winged god. The fertility aspect is obvious: Eros is god of sexual love, which may well result in childbirth; thus, this myth is more concerned with human reproduction rather than vegetable or animal. Finally, the myth of Zephyrus and Chloris-Flora is essentially a male-female version of the Zephyrus-Hyacinthus tale, concerned with the fertility of the fields. The role that Zephyrus was cast in - the gentle harbinger of the Spring - was one which proved to be the most enduring, becoming almost stereotypical as time progressed through the Roman period into the Middle Ages (see, for example, Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* which presents both Zephyrus and Flora as attendants upon Venus), and it is this stereotype which is best seen on the Tower of the Winds in Athens.

2.3. Marginal Winds and Related Deities.

By 'marginal Winds' we should make it clear that we mean those Wind-gods that do not feature in the literature as frequently as Boreas and Zephyrus, who have no real myths of their own (such as Eurus and Notus), or who symbolise transient winds such as the Etesians (meltemi). Also in this section are included the Winds who play a role in other myths, those who are attached to Roman imperial iconography, those who are represented as horses, miscellaneous Wind-gods, and cosmological Wind-gods. Following the discussion of these deities, we shall examine the relationship between the Wind-gods and some of their fellow gods, such as their mother Eos, their cousins the Harpies and the Aurai, and the Olympian Hermes.

2.3.1. Cardinal Winds.

Perhaps the most celebrated monument to the Wind-gods of antiquity is the Tower of the Winds, more accurately an horologion (water-clock) built by Andronicus of Cyrrhus in the Roman agora of Athens, in around 50 B.C.³⁰³. It is an octagonal marble structure, combining the properties of a weathervane, sun-dial and clock, with each of its faces pointing in the compass-direction of the appropriate wind - so Boreas faces north, Caecias faces north-east, and so forth. The eight-point division of the wind-rose is based upon the work by Timosthenes and Poseidonios, known to the Romans through Varro's (now lost) treatises *De Ora Maritima* and *Ephemeris Navalis*, and which was widely popular - so much so, that Vitruvius cites the Tower as an indicator of good town planning in his *De Architectura* I.6.1ff - for it is important to know where the wind is coming from, so that one may guard against any illnesses it may bring (see section 4.7 below).

The eight Winds featured on the Tower are all shown as winged males, carrying some attribute associated with the weather that each Wind brings. Thus we have Boreas (N; fig.60a), bearded and with shaggy hair, booted and dressed in a tunic and billowing cloak (all the Winds are clothed in this way except for Zephyrus, who is depicted naked), holding a spiralled conch-shell aloft so that he may blow into it to

³⁰³ The date is disputed; it may be first century A.D. See A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, Yale University Press 1990: 231-3; also G. Dokru-van Rossu, *History of the Hour*, University of Chicago Press, 1996: 27.

herald the advent of the winds; Caecius (NE; fig.60b) is also bearded, and he carries a large shield which scatters hailstones upon the ground below; Apeliotes (E; fig.60c) is clean-shaven, and carries fruits and wheat in his cloak; Eurys (SE; fig.60d) is bearded and has his arm hidden in his mantle to summon a hurricane; Notus (S; fig.60e) is youthful and holds an urn upside down to create a rain-shower; Lips (SW; fig.60f) is also young, leaning on the stern of a *tetreres* ('four-fitted' ship) to speed it on its way; Zephyrus (W; fig.60g) is youthful and scatters flowers from his mantle; and Sciron (NW; fig.60h) is bearded, tilting a cauldron to signify the onset of winter.

These figures are executed in a bold, heavy style that some scholars appear to dislike; Stewart points to the coarse, heavily-proportioned and exaggerated features as evidence of the 'working-class' audience that the horologion was meant for, writing that:

This...gives them a plebeian air that, intentional or not, is certainly original and appropriate to the clientele they served... Yet, quite inappropriately, each is forced relentlessly into the same pseudo-classical straitjacket [which]...is self-contradictory to the point of caricature³⁰⁴.

This seems a little overly dismissive of the horologion's decoration. It is hard to see quite how 'inappropriate' the figures are, even if placed in a stereotypical pose; it is really only Zephyrus who conforms to his 'Classical' stereotype. Certainly we cannot compare the figures with those sculpted by Pheidias on the Parthenon, but then we must bear in mind that the horologion was a gift to the people of Athens by one wealthy individual, and that his wealth was presumably not great enough to pay the very best sculptors of the time. We know nothing about Andronicus; perhaps he made his fortune by trade, and so elected to put up this monument acknowledging the help that the winds played. The specific modelling of the stern held by Lips would seem to support this hypothesis: the four-pronged beak suggests that the Wind was holding a *tetreres*, a type of galley designed in the early Hellenistic era as a development from the trireme. The *tetreres* and its successors were adaptable and could be used as warships or merchantmen as the situation required, and they and the triremes formed the basis of the ancient navy. Even if Andronicus was wealthy from other sources, his gift to the

³⁰⁴ A. Stewart, *ibid.* 232.

Athenians would have meaning for those going about their business in the agora: Apeliotes with his fruit and wheat would have relevance for farmers, while Lips and Eurus show the two faces of travelling at sea, and Caecias, Notus and Sciron bring the bad weather that those on land and sea must suffer. Today, guide-books list the Tower as one of the favourite attractions in Athens, proving that the pull between man and the elements is as strong now as it was then; it is this complicated relationship, and not the artistic merit of the Tower, that makes it popular.

We have already seen Notus depicted on the Tower of the Winds as a youthful figure pouring rain-showers upon the earth, which is but one aspect of the south wind. As stated above, youthfulness suggests a milder temperament for a Wind-god as opposed to the mature, bearded figure which represents strength and violence. While the south wind may be a weaker wind in the central Aegean, it does not have this reputation throughout the Mediterranean, where its true nature is very different. In Italy and through Spain and the south of France, the sirocco (or lebeche) is a stormy wind that brings heavy rain and clouds of dust from the Sahara. It is this side of the south wind that may be illustrated by the so-called 'rain-demon' on the Column of Marcus Aurelius (fig.61). The episode is described by Cassius Dio at LXII.8.2, who describes a battle between the Romans and the Quadi. The Romans pray for help against their enemy, and it began to rain, turning the battlefield into a mire and causing the Quadi to panic. Cassius Dio relates that the rain was a 'miracle', brought about by the help of a soothsayer in the emperor's entourage. Magic or no, the scene is vividly depicted upon the east side of the Column, the Romans advancing toward their hapless enemies who lie strewn in the muddy field. Above them swoops the terrifying figure of the rain-demon, winged and bearded, streaming with water. Could this, in fact, be a representation of Notus, the rainy south wind, as described by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* I.262ff.?

On dripping wings the South Wind flew, his terrible features shrouded in pitchy darkness. His beard was heavy with rain, water streamed from his hoary locks, mists wreathed his brow, his robes and feathers dripped with moisture. When he crushed the hanging clouds in his broad hand, there was a crash; thereafter sheets of rain poured down from heaven.

The description fits the rain-demon perfectly, and it is tempting to see Ovid's influence upon the designer/sculptors of the Column. The fact that this battle took place beyond the Danube, where weather quite different from Mediterranean conditions would have been experienced, makes no matter; presumably the sculptors were not on this campaign with Marcus Aurelius, and so were treating the episode with artistic licence, ensuring that the greatest number of viewers would understand the image of the rain-demon by associating it with weather-conditions - like the sirocco - that they were used to. Although we have no proof of this, it remains an intriguing possibility.

The myth of the Etesian winds (meltemi) is known to us through Apollonius Rhodius II.521ff, where it is related that the islanders of the Aegean were suffering from a drought, and so they were advised by an oracle to request the help of the prophet Astraius, son of Apollo. The prophet built an altar to Zeus Ikmaius (Zeus the rain-god), and sacrificed to the Dog-Star (Sirius) and then to Zeus; thereafter arose a cooling wind which returns each year at the same time, in July, and which is known as the Etesians ('yearly'). This foundation myth for the cult on Ceos³⁰⁵ to summon the Etesians found its way into comedy, explained by the Scholiast on Amphis thus:

When the stars were making room for human beings, the Dog Star was sent as an envoy to Opora ('Fruit'), whom he no sooner saw to be ripe than he was inflamed with a love which soon burnt the hotter because he could not satisfy it. When mankind in the face of their calamity began to call upon the gods for aid, Boreas sent his sons to deliver Opora to the Dog, while he himself tempered that star's heat with his blasts. These blasts are called the Etesian winds³⁰⁶.

As we have seen above, the heliacal rising of Sirius marks the start of meltemi season, and is synonymous with the Athenian New Year and harvest festival - hence the reference to ripe fruit. The Etesians are depicted in a similar fertility role on the Tazza Farnese (fig.62), which shows a scene interpreted by Furtwängler as follows³⁰⁷: the seated bearded male figure holding a cornucopia is the Nile, the seated female upon the sphinx is Euthenia (Prosperity), watched by Triptolemus and two Seasons, whilst overhead fly two Wind-gods, one blowing into a conch-shell and the second holding a

³⁰⁵ W. Burkert, *supra* n.151: 175.

³⁰⁶ Amphis frg.27 (48k) in J. M. Edmonds (ed.), *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* Vol.2; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1957: 325.

³⁰⁷ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Vol. 2, Berlin and Leipzig, 1900: 253-6.

cloth *velificatio*. This allegory is then read as the fertility of Egypt ensured by the Nile as a result of the Seasons, which are brought by the Winds. Charbonneaux accepted the allegorical interpretation but argued that the central three figures of Triptolemus, Euthenia and the sphinx were in fact portraits of Ptolemaic rulers: Ptolemy V Epiphanes (sphinx), Ptolemy VI Philometor (Triptolemus), and Cleopatra I³⁰⁸. Bastet followed Charbonneaux, but saw three different rulers³⁰⁹, while Thompson went so far as to suggest that the Triptolemus figure represented Octavian bringing peace and prosperity to the world after the civil wars³¹⁰. Whoever these central figures are meant to be, it does not change the fact that the Wind-gods are present for a specific purpose, and that must be to ensure that the Egyptian crops grow each year. We have already had cause to mention Herodotus' thoughts on the Nile, and at II.20-5 he spends some time discussing the causes and mechanics of the flooding; the consequences for Egypt if the Nile did not rise were often catastrophic (and widely-publicised, in some cases: see the story of Pharaoh's dreams interpreted by Joseph in Genesis XLI), and so the Hellenistic allegory of the Tazza Farnese presents an echo of the uncertain times of Pharaonic Egypt to underline the relative stability of life under the Ptolemies and the Romans.

2.3.2 Winds in other myths.

Now we turn to examine the iconography of the Winds in other myths; namely, the Homeric epic the *Odyssey*. We have already seen the whimsical part played by Boreas on a Boeotian skyphos (fig.35), but the following two pieces are serious illustrations from Book X.1-79. The first is an Etruscan carnelian scarab set in a gold ring (fig.63), its intaglio showing a naked man bending over an animal-skin bag which he has just opened. From the bag, a bearded head emerges, blowing wind (here represented by short lines emanating from the mouth). This is a clear reference to the scene in which Aeolus gives Odysseus the bag of winds (made from ox-hide), which

³⁰⁸ J. Charbonneaux, "Sur la signification et la date de la Tasse Farnèse", *MonPiot* 50 (1958): 85-103.

³⁰⁹ F. L. Bastet, "Untersuchungen zur Datierung und Bedeutungen der Tazza Farnese", *BABesch* 37 (1962): 1-24.

³¹⁰ D. Thompson, "The Tazza Farnese Reconsidered", in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1978: 112-22.

he opens to control the direction his ship takes on his voyage home. Although rarely depicted in ancient art, it seems to be a Roman favourite: a youth blowing wind from his mouth has been identified as a Wind-god on the second century A.D. statue personifying the *Odyssey* that once stood in the Library of Pantaenus in the Athenian agora³¹¹.

The Aeolus episode also appears on the painted panels from the Esquiline in Rome, dubbed the 'Odyssey Frieze'. Unfortunately, some of the sections are missing, including the meeting between Aeolus and Odysseus; however, three faint figures of Wind-gods may be seen hovering in the sky above the beached ships as the Greeks arrive at the land of the Laestrygones (fig.64). Three Winds is the correct number, given that Zephyrus alone was left out of the bag given to Odysseus, so that the Wind could blow gently upon the ships en route to Ithaca. It would appear that this interlude of the *Odyssey* was not as popular as other more picturesque scenarios, such as the meeting with Polyphemos or Circe, the lure of the Sirens, or the horror of Scylla and Charybdis, perhaps because it was a more familiar part of the myth - people with business at the harbour would have seen the 'Aeolus' figure selling charms that would supposedly control the winds and keep one safe at sea, whereas nobody could imagine encountering such things as giant one-eyed carnivorous shepherds. The essence of good storytelling is to create a fictional world firmly based upon a reality that the audience can immediately relate to; for the poets of the oral tradition, this was an important way to ground themselves, reminding them where they had gotten in the story, and providing a point of reference for a new audience. There is also the possibility that this episode was not represented as often as other scenes because of the difficulty of conveying the idea of the Winds in action, although this is less likely; perhaps it was considered to be artistically uninteresting compared with other sequences from the *Odyssey*, especially given that Book X also contains the clash with the Laestrygones and the spells of Circe.

³¹¹ K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 148-151.

2.3.3. The Winds represented as horses.

We have several extant pieces of sculpture that may depict the Winds in the form of horses, a synthesis that seems to develop from the locution first employed by Homer (see below, section 4.8.iv.b) that horses were 'wind-swift': for this in relation to horses drawing chariots, see *Iliad* V.357; 720, and 744ff., also VIII.48 and XIII.28. While this notion develops further in literature, as we shall see later, it also passed into iconography. Fig.65 shows Hera in a chariot drawn by the four Winds on a metope from the Parthenon, and similarly, the east frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon (inscribed) shows the same scene in more detail, as the story of the battle between the Gods and the Giants is narrated (fig.66). Both temples were raised to commemorate a victory over a foe: for the Greeks, it was the end of the Persian Wars, while for the Pergamenes, it celebrated the defeat of Pontus-Bithynia. The Pergamene gigantomachy is problematic; with its vast scope and obscure deities, its action and interpretation are disputed still. Puchstein and Robert suggested that the north side represented night deities, the east side depicted the Olympians, the south showed sky and light gods, and the west balanced the south and north sides by portraying earth and sea deities³¹². Simon believed that the altar could be read as a sculptural version of Hesiod's *Theogony*³¹³, with three family groups depicted: the descendants of Pontus on the west, of Nyx on the north, and of Uranus and Gaia on the south and east. The Winds appear on the east side, and thus fit Simon's hypothesis better than those of Puchstein and Robert: Boreas, Notus and Zephyrus are sons of Eos and Astraios, making them great-grandsons of Uranus and Gaia; their inclusion on the east side is therefore in keeping with Simon's Hesiodic key³¹⁴.

Fig.67 is also from Pergamon, showing a gigantomachy from the Roman frieze of the theatre. Where once the Winds drew Hera and Hebe to aid their partners Zeus and Hercules, now they draw the sun-chariot of Helios. This may best be likened to the Mithraic monument from Dieburg (fig.102), which associates the Winds with the

³¹² O. Puchstein, "Zur pergamenischen Gigantomachie", *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.Hist. Kl.*, Berlin, 1888: 1231-49; C. Robert, "Archäologische Nachlese, XX: Die Götter in der pergamenischen Gigantomachie", *Hermes* 46 (1911): 217-49.

³¹³ E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1975.

³¹⁴ This also includes Eurys; as the son of Typhon, he is descended from Gaia and Tartaros, rather than Gaia and Ouranos.

four horses of Helios by means of reference to the foursquare stability of the cosmos: four Winds, four Seasons, four Elements united by the power of the sun-god and symbolised by four horses. This motif can also be found on sarcophagi (fig.110), and both appearances may well rely heavily upon the mystery cult of Mithraism for its iconographical origin.

2.3.4. Winds in Imperial Iconography.

We have already touched upon the possibility of the Winds being associated with the person of the emperor when we discussed the Tazza Farnese, but now we turn to more solid evidence of the links. Later we shall see that the Winds played an important role in the apotheosis of certain emperors (section 3.4), but here we are concerned with three images that show Wind-gods in relation to some other official imperial symbols. Fig.68 shows a denarius from Nîmes, dating from the reign of Augustus, bearing the emperor's name in the centre, below which is a capricorn, and above, a flying figure with spiky hair, holding aloft a cloth (*velificatio*). Nîmes was a major commercial centre of Roman Gaul, and has a close connection with the imperial cult of Augustus (the Maison Carrée was built as a dedication to his heirs Gaius and Lucius), and with Wind-gods (see fig.91), which may well be related to the commercial aspect of the city as it was sited on the river Gard. The juxtaposition of emperor and Wind-god may suggest that the *genius* of Augustus held the town under his protection, just as later images will expand to include symbolic figures such as Tutela, protectress of cities. Fig.69 is a detail of a Grand Cameo of France, depicting a Julio-Claudian emperor, perhaps Tiberius, enthroned on a chariot drawn by winged horses beside Venus, Pegasus and Bellerophon, while a Wind-god leads Pegasus aloft. Here the allegory may be read like the Tazza Farnese: Venus represents the line of the Julio-Claudians, who are descended from the goddess via her son Aeneas, and who became a part of the dynasty through Julius Caesar. The chariot, Bellerophon and Pegasus may suggest imperial *genii* power over the heavens, which is emphasised by the presence of the Wind-god. Fig.70 shows a third century A.D. terracotta medallion from Vienna, depicting Tutela in her role as goddess of the city and of the cosmos; to her right is a winged Victory, and below her is the figure of Caelus, god of the

Heavens. A bearded Wind-god blows from the top right, and was probably balanced by a second Wind-god opposite. Like the theatre frieze from Pergamon featuring the Winds as Helios' horses, this medallion depicts a purely cosmological idea, the notion of the immutable universe ruled over by Roman control, here represented by Tutela. We have seen such self-aggrandisement before, with Boreas-Oreithuia and fifth-century Athens, so we should not be surprised when first Roman emperors and then their provincial representatives use both Olympian gods and more minor deities on officially-sanctioned iconography to demonstrate their own power. It is especially so in the case of using Winds and Seasons, representing the passage of time through the course of the year and yet the stability of the cosmos, just as the juxtaposition of an emperor with these nature gods suggests the timelessness of the imperial rule (particularly if we remember that the majority of the emperors were deified), and the expanse over which he ruled.

2.3.5. The Cosmological and Geographical Winds.

The motif of the Winds as part of a greater cosmological outlook became the most popular during the Roman empire, and particularly in the east; perhaps this was due in part to the effects of Hellenistic religious doctrines or the prevalence of 'home-grown' mystery cults which spread throughout the empire (see section 3.2 below). The extant iconographical evidence is displayed chiefly upon mosaics and paintings in no uncertain terms, so that the viewer may readily comprehend what the message of the image is about (for example, fig.108, see discussion below section 3.2.3). When the cosmological identity is less obvious, there is also the fact that, on large-scale mosaics that concentrate their design upon a central medallion, four corners of the enclosed square remain, and so are filled with four busts usually representing the Seasons, or, less often, the four Winds. The mosaicist would usually attempt to introduce some artistic integrity into the finished piece by ensuring that the subjects of the corners and centre matched in some way, as we will see with fig.73.

Our first example is concerned, however, with geographical Winds. Fig.71 shows a black-and-white mosaic from Ostia, dated to 50 A.D., portraying the four

Winds with personifications of various Roman provinces³¹⁵: Zephyrus faces a woman crowned with olives, representing Spain; beneath them, Notus faces a head with three running legs attached, symbolising Sicily. Boreas faces a woman with an elephant head-dress, representing Africa, while Eurus is opposite a woman accompanied by a crocodile, symbolising Egypt. All four Wind-gods have wings in their hair, which is somewhat *de rigueur* for such representations on mosaic or paintings, perhaps to distinguish them as Winds rather than Seasons, who can appear as both male or female, dependant upon the taste of the artist. A point of interest here is that the compass direction of each wind (rather than the actual direction the wind blows to) matches the geographical location of the province: thus, Spain is to the west of Rome, Sicily to the south, Egypt to the east. The odd one out is Africa, which is obviously not to the north of Rome; however, the northerly meltemi winds would have been utilised in order to reach the province. It is telling that this mosaic was discovered in Ostia, Rome's port, as the choice of subject for the design is most fitting for a merchant or naval official, particularly one who would be obliged to spend some time travelling to different provinces on his own or upon state business: Africa, Egypt and Sicily were the great corn provinces of the empire, while Spain produced vast quantities of oil for export.

Fig.72 shows a mosaic from St. Agatha (Petra Aurea) on the Via Nomentana, of the second century A.D., depicting seven bowls of fruit and flowers in the central medallion while four Winds blow from the corners, all youthful and with wings in their hair. If we compare these representations with the later painting from Tyre (fig.75), it seems that the Winds in the Roman Near East - as far as we can tell from the limited evidence - tend to be portrayed as youthful deities. Why is that? We will see later (3.2.2) that in the Orphic hymns, Notus - considered by the Greeks to be a troublesome, stormy wind - in Asia Minor is celebrated as a wind that ripens fruit and grain. Bearing this in mind, we can apply local meteorological conditions to our readings of these images, also remembering that the winds over much of the Syrian hinterland are not as changeable or extreme as those to which the Aegean and the

³¹⁵ G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV: Mosaici e Pavimenti Marmorei*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953: 46-7, cat.no.68.

western Mediterranean are subjected. Therefore, the local craftsmen working on this mosaic may have learned that the standard iconography for Wind-gods was to show the stronger prevailing winds as mature, bearded men, while the softer winds were depicted as handsome youths; since in this particular case, there are no strong prevailing winds, then why should the artist not make all four Wind-gods youthful, symbolic of the milder weather conditions of the region?

Turning now to Roman North Africa, we can see that this province followed the stylistic dictates of the Roman mosaicists, depicting the Winds as we are accustomed to see them: two bearded, two youthful, on a third century A.D. mosaic from the *Maison à Trifolium* in Dougga (fig.73). The central medallion shows a swimmer in the ocean, surrounded in an outer circle by Nereids on hippocamps and other sea monsters. In the four corners are the Winds. Their presence in this scene may be explained thus: Winds are not just considered as gods of the sky, but also of the seas - their association with Poseidon in both Greek and Roman literature (see below 4.1), and Lucian's inclusion of them in his *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* point to this fact inescapably, and so on this particular example, the Winds are playing not so much a cosmological role, but one of associated elements.

Fig.74, however, is strongly cosmological. A late second-early third century A.D. mosaic from the Spanish town of Mérida, it shows several inscribed deities associated with the heavens, including all four Wind-gods, Caelus, Saeculus (Generation), Polus (Sky), Occasus (Sunset), Mons (Mountain), and Nyx. The south wind, Notus, is supporting Nubs (Cloud), and Nebula (Mist) hovers beside Zephyrus. It has been suggested that this mosaic was influenced by a mystery cult, perhaps Mithraism or Aeonism³¹⁶, although we cannot be certain how far this influence extended; for more on this subject, see below, section 3.2.

The design of the painting from the ceiling of an hypogeum at Djel el'Amad, close to Tyre, seems to be derived from mosaic styles, with its scattered images of birds, fruits and flowers (fig.75). Two busts are missing, but the painting is preserved enough for us to see that a cardinal Wind-god was placed in each corner of the room, corresponding to their compass-points. Thus in the north-west corner there is the

³¹⁶ A. Alföldi, *Aeon in Mérida und Aphrodisias*, *Madrid Beiträg* 6 (1979).

profile bust of a youthful male, crowned with a garland of leaves and flowers; he blows blue breath towards the centre of the scene. To the north-east is a younger male, without a crown; his breath is coloured red. Can we identify these two busts? If the god of the north-west corner is Zephyrus, as the crown of flowers suggests, then the younger god would have to be Boreas, normally shown as a mature man. If Boreas were the north-west god, with blue breath for a cold wind, then the north-east bust would show Eurus, and the red breath for a warm wind would not fit with this profile either. This suggests that originally, all four Winds were portrayed in a similar youthful fashion, as they were on the earlier mosaic from Petra Aurea (fig.72), which then begs the question of the Levantine adoption of the Classical iconography of the Winds. We are unlikely ever to solve this mystery to our satisfaction, so we must rather ask, is it necessary to attempt to identify these Wind-gods so strictly? No; as will be seen with the Winds on Mithraic tauroctonies below, the important thing is that the Winds are present in the scene, not which Winds are placed where. Here in the Djel el'Amad hypogeum, we can point to a cosmological role offered by the Winds as harbingers of fruitfulness and the harvest, which is what seems to be suggested by the remainder of the painting; alternatively, since this is a tomb-painting, we may see the Winds in a psychopompic character (see below section 3.4), with the attendant meanings of rebirth feasible from the surrounding images of vegetation.

Fig.76 illustrates a fine Gallo-Roman mosaic of about the fourth century A.D., from Jura, which is intricate and ornate. Various floral borders hedge rectangular boxes containing griffins flanking busts of the Seasons; centaurs with clubs flanking busts of the Winds, which are boxed in and topped with the 'evil eye', while the central panel shows a lion with its kill. Here it is difficult to reach a satisfactory reading of the image with its mixture of the violent, the prophylactic, and the cosmological, so we may assume that the owner had some interest in all three motifs, and was perhaps superstitious, as the inclusion of the 'evil eye' is unusual in mosaic.

Finally, fig.77 represents a return to the cosmological nature of the Winds as seen previously in the mosaic from Spain (fig.74); here we have a reconstruction of a Late Antique cosmographical wall-painting from Gaza, with the familiar figures of Aeon, Uranus, Caelus (Atlas), Nyx, the four Winds upon their horses, Iris with her

rainbow, and Cosmos and Aether at the top of the scene. It seems fitting that we should close this subsection with a reference to this image, as here we can see the extent to which the Winds were considered as an integral part of the cosmos. Note their position: they are between the earth-bound deities and the celestial gods, as are Iris and Nyx, and they occupy that same position in cult - they are the means by which the soul leaves and may return to the body (see section 3 below).

2.3.6. Miscellaneous Wind-gods.

In this subsection we shall examine several images that cannot be categorised within the parameters laid out in this thesis, mainly because we are not overly concerned with the naming of these specific deities - for example, we will not declare fig.79 to be 'Boreas and Zephyrus' simply because there are two Wind-gods depicted and because the literature favours these two gods more than the others, as this fits too easily with our view of an opposed world. Instead, we will try to see why these representations were made, and what meaning they could have had for the ancient viewer.

Fig.78 is a panelled section from a chariot, originally made from wood with a thin beaten gold covering, from Achaia. A series of these panels shows a crowned and bearded half-serpent, half-human god, with large wings from his torso. He is depicted in the Near Eastern 'Master of the Animals' stance, a Bronze Age motif that was transmitted across to mainland Greece during the Orientalising period, and which remained popular on Corinthian and Laconian pottery. This is how Typhon is often represented (compare fig.80), and it also the way that Pausanias tells us that Boreas is depicted on the Chest of Cypselus. Are these Wind-gods? We cannot tell; but in our favour is the fact that these panels came from a chariot, and we know that the relationship between horses and winds was a close one. If one were to decorate a chariot, then the motifs chosen would surely have some significance, ritualistic or otherwise, and this, coupled with the 'Master of the Animals' pose in which the figures are represented, suggests the notion of power and swiftness, with control over the earth (serpent-tail), sky (wings) and the beasts.

Now let us compare this image with that of fig.79, an alabastron of Middle Corinthian Ware. This shows two bearded figures in profile, moving towards each other in a loose *knielauf* position inherited from the Orientalising Early Corinthian styles - a descendant of the previous representation. They have extremely large wings, and liquid streams from their mouths. This piece presents something of a problem. The figures are tentatively identified as the Boreads, Zetes and Calais, due to their popularity on Corinthian pottery; however, Kroll offers a second identification, that of "storm or wind deities flying through the skies and disgorging rain"³¹⁷. Unlike the representations of the Boreads, which are frontal torso with two wings developing from the back, this alabastron presents another image, apparently unique³¹⁸, which shows the wings developing from the front of the body. The inclusion of the liquid 'rain' from their mouths does favour the identification here of the Winds; while rejecting as too literal the notion that the figures are meant to be clashing together as if in a storm (which, we must admit, could be an acceptable reading of the image), Kroll acknowledges that some type of confrontation is taking place³¹⁹. The Boreads are not known to have been at odds with one another; Winds, however, are opposed to each other when they blow and create storms, and there are several examples of such Wind-pairings in the Homeric literature (see below, section 4.8.iv.c).

The Apulian oinochoe in fig.80 shows Zeus and his chariot-team trampling down the leader of the giants, Typhon. Behind him, the head of a large Wind-god appears, blowing fiercely upon the horses, who shy away as they approach. This is a reference to Hesiod's *Theogony*, which relates how the Olympians defeated the Giants in battle, and how, from the fallen Typhon, there came a blast of air as he was crushed beneath a mountain. This gust of wind became all the evil winds, including Eurus, the east wind, the only cardinal wind not born to Eos and Astraios. The Greek *tuphon* means 'whirlwind', and it is this that inhabits the lower reaches of Hades - a fitting end to Zeus' most powerful opponent. The aetiology is evident: Zeus, the supreme sky-god wielding the lightning-bolt, is challenged by an ancient storm-god who can call up whirlwinds. Such conflicts may be found throughout all mythologies as an explanation

³¹⁷ J. H. Kroll, "Three Corinthian Vases in the Fogg Art Museum", *AntK* XI (1968): 20.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

for the eternal battle of the heavens by different weather conditions³²⁰. It is interesting that this image seems to be unique in the extant record of gigantomachic iconography, as there are many representations of full-scale gigantomachies and also more of these miniature tableaux featuring Zeus and Typhon alone - yet this is the only depiction of a Wind-god being 'born' from the fallen giant. Perhaps we have read the scene wrongly; maybe Typhon has called upon the whirlwind with his last vestiges of strength, and the Arpi Painter has chosen to represent the whirlwind by a huge head puffing wind at Zeus. Either way, it is a fascinating addition to the genre.

Our final image is the stone head of a Wind-god from Göttingen (fig.81), which may well be part of a Mithraic tauroctony scene. The head is under-life-sized and made of a porous stone, much-weathered, yet we can still see the wings developing from his hair, just above his ears. His hair is roughly-chiselled to suggest curls, and he seems to be wearing a hat on the crown of his head. If this is the case, then we may well be dealing with Hermes rather than a Wind-god, as the Olympian is often depicted with a winged traveller's hat in addition to winged boots (fig.86). We may also think of Hypnos (fig.87), but this is an unlikely identification for our head as he is not often represented in full-scale sculpture, but rather on pottery painting. So, is this Hermes or is it a Wind-god? Again, we cannot be sure with our identification, but then, the two gods are remarkably similar in their spheres of influence, as we shall see.

2.3.7. Related Deities.

Here we shall briefly look at a few deities most associated with Wind-gods or with winds, namely, the Aurai, Eos, the Boreads and the Harpies, Hermes, Hypnos and Thanatos, and Eros. With one exception (the Aurai), all are winged; all of them can fly, and have the reputation of being swift. Their functions often overlap with those of the Winds, and it is this relationship that we shall explore more thoroughly.

Firstly, the Aurai, or Breezes. These take the form of young maidens who fly, not by the aid of wings, but by their garments - see fig.82 and 83 for a depiction of the Aurai in both singular and plural forms as they lift their himatia to drift along or to catch the wind. They also appear in sculpture, for example, on the Xanthian heroon

³²⁰ For example, Seth and Horus in Egyptian myth, and Marduk and Tiamat in Babylonian tales.

now in the British Museum, and as reported in Pliny's *Natural History* XXXVI.29, also *velificantes sua veste*. The Aurai have no wings because, as Six suggests, they are not required to fly up to the clouds, "but are confined to the surface of sea or land"³²¹, and we may see on figs.82-3 that the maidens are not far from the ground. The Aurai have sometimes been called the daughters of the Winds - Sosikrates' *The Brother Fond* refers to:

A little breeze, daughter to Sciron born,
that laughed the swelling waves to gentle scorn,
with silent motion swiftly and certainly
sped the boat hither³²².

The Aurai are young, beautiful, passive and beneficial female deities, and may be related to the *Zephyritides* of the Orphic hymn to Zephyrus (see below, 3.2.2) as favourable female Wind-goddesses. Their power is limited though, and they seem to be more a personification of nature in the same way as the Nereids are; anything more powerful than a slight breeze would be said to be one of the cardinal Winds at work.

We must spare a glance for the winged figure of Eos, the Dawn (chasing Cephalos in fig.84), for she is the mother of the Winds according to Hesiod (*Theogony* 1.378ff). Meteorologically-speaking, Eos and her consort Astraeus ('Starry Sky') make good parents for the Winds, as according to Presocratic philosophy the wind originated in the heavens, and we already know that the wind rises at dawn, particularly in meltemi season. Eos is unlike any of the other goddesses of Classical mythology: she is the most sexually voracious, pursuing and taking her lovers where she wishes, even if, like Tithonos and Cephalos, they are unwilling. She even risks the anger of Artemis for having seduced her favourite hunter, Orion. She is a popular subject for Attic pottery-painters, appearing at least as often as Boreas-Oreithuia³²³ at around the same date, and this would lend credence to Osborne's view that Eos was deliberately depicted as the 'bad girl' of the gods in order to provide an anti-role-model for Athenian women³²⁴. Most representations of women, goddess or mortal, are

³²¹ J. Six, "Aura", *JHS* 21 (1892): 131.

³²² Sosikrates, frg.2, in *Fragments of Attic Comedy* Vol.3a, ed. and tr. J. M. Edmonds, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1957.

³²³ See *LIMC* "Eos" for a full catalogue.

³²⁴ R. Osborne, "Desiring women on Athenian pottery", in N. Kampen (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, C.U.P., 1995: 78-80.

confined to the social norms - playing the whore, the bride, the wife, the mother, or man's helpmate - but Eos flouts these conventions and acts like a man, actively pursuing her prey, her sexual intentions clear. In this, she is pushing the boundaries that separate female behaviour from that of monstrous behaviour - Sirens, Harpies, Sphinxes, Lamia, Scylla and Charybdis are also female, and all chase or attempt to lure men, usually to their deaths. The sexual/death dichotomy of the sphinx is explored by Hoffmann³²⁵, but Eos' behaviour goes largely unremarked³²⁶. However, it would seem as if Osborne is correct in his assumptions; Eos is not by nature an evil being, she merely acts on her whims and lusts, and this is what Athenian men are afraid of. If the hypothesis set forth in 1.3.iii.a is correct in assuming that women were seen to have somehow gone 'out of control' during the Persian Wars and its immediate aftermath, and that they needed reminding of their social position, then Eos is the embodiment of the 'out of control' woman, governed by no man and beholden to no *oikos*, answerable only to herself - even the Olympians cannot curb her waywardness, as Artemis may kill Orion to spite the goddess of the dawn, but she cannot harm her in any other way. Eos' wild actions on pottery, pursuing the very symbol of Athenian civilised life, the young ephebe or huntsman, would serve to remind the men, *presumably* the painters and buyers of such ceramics, of what would happen if they themselves did not take charge of their women according to the accepted social norm. And with Eos as their mother, then her sons Boreas and Zephyrus have *carte blanche* to act in a similar (but more socially acceptable) manner, pursuing and raping maidens and youths, which, as we have seen, became part of the social imagery between the battle of the sexes.

The Harpies are the creatures closest to the cardinal Wind-gods, originally being female wind and storm deities themselves. We can see one of them approaching the blind king Phineus in order to steal his food in this scene from the *Argonautica* cycle, with Phineus furiously waving an instrument to drive her off (fig.85). Their number is not set: Hesiod names two - Aeollos and Ocypete, while Homer gives a third, Podarge - and their names suggest their nature: storm-foot, swift-flying, swift-foot. In

³²⁵ H. Hoffmann, *supra* n.47.

³²⁶ See, however, S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *supra* n.49.

Homeric literature, they are seen as a force of evil and death, given to snatching away humans³²⁷ to deliver to the Fates. Later myth has them pitted against the Boreads, whose fate it was to kill or be killed by them, and the Harpies either perished or were chased to the ends of the earth to take up residence in Scythia or the Strophades. The Harpies were also the guardians of the Hesperides, and it is in this role that they appear on a cup from Naucratis in Cyrene³²⁸, opposed by the Boreads. Indeed, Studniczka believes that “the Boreads, none can doubt, were, like the Harpies, originally an independent group of wind-deities”³²⁹, the good winds that battled with the Harpies, the bad winds. Smith sees this as originating from the Greek settlers of North Africa, who saw the north wind (the Boreads) as a favourable, rain-bringing wind, while the south wind (the Harpies) was a destructive, searing wind - in other words, the sirocco. This duality of good/cool wind and evil/hot wind may also explain why Hesiod names Iris, the rain-bringer, as the sister of the Harpies, making her the opposite nature of their parching breath³³⁰. Smith’s explanation gains further credence when he examines a situla from another Greek-African colony, Daphnae in the Egyptian Delta³³¹, which presents a serpent-tailed Boreas-figure according to the type found on the Chest of Cypselus, holding two snakes and with a plant in full bloom behind him, opposing a Harpy accompanied by a locust, with birds and beasts of the field fleeing before them. This would suggest that Boreas the north wind is an agent of fertility, and that the Harpy is an agent of destruction, typified also by the locust, whose reputation for damaging crops and animals is well-justified. The pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads is a popular theme amongst the Corinthians and Laconians, appearing many hundreds of times in various media. The Greek settlers in North Africa and Egypt were mainly from the Peloponnese, which may go some way to suggesting why this particular subject was so widespread in the areas of Corinth and Laconia, when in Attica it is relegated to a more minor role. Their battle in the *Argonautica*, which is shown on Attic pottery, may well be part of a later tradition that attempted to explain the presence of two winged and bearded beings in the artistic

³²⁷ *Iliad* VI.411; *Odyssey* I.241, XX.50 and 77.

³²⁸ Now in the British Museum; see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, fig.10.

³²⁹ In C. Smith, “Harpies in Greek Art”, *JHS* 21 (1892): 106.

³³⁰ *Ibid*: 107.

³³¹ *Ibid*: 108-110.

history of the Peloponnese. Making them the sons of Boreas and Oreithuia stripped them of any last vestiges of power as Wind-gods themselves, so that Boreas - adopted by the Athenians as their own, whatever his original origins - was in sole control of the north wind.

Now we turn to the relationship between Hermes and the Winds, which is a strange and complicated one. Their natures are so alike that it prompted Roscher to write his study *Hermes Der Windgott*³³², in which he pointed out the remarkable similarities between Hermes and the Winds: both are servants of the gods, and live in mountain-caves (Boreas on Mt. Haemus, Hermes as a child on Mt. Cyllene), both are children of sky-gods (Hermes the son of Zeus the thunderer and Maia, nymph of the rain), both are rapid, powerful and agile (Hermes as a god of gymnastics and agonistic festivals), both are thieves/rapists (Boreas-Oreithuia, Zephyrus-Hyacinthus, Hermes-Herse, and Hermes is the patron god of thieves), both are musical (the Winds play conch-shell trumpets - see below, 3.2.1.ii; and are described as musical in many sources³³³; Hermes is credited with the invention of the lyre, which so charmed Apollo), both are psychopomps (for the Winds, see below 3.4; Hermes is often depicted on white-ground lekythoi as *Hermes Psychopompos*, guiding the souls of the dead to the Styx - see fig.86 for an illustration of him in this role), both are agents of fertility (Hermes was originally a god of the flock and field, and his herms standing in every home and street-corner are ithyphallic), and finally, both are carriers of traffic and trade (the Winds on the sea especially; Hermes is patron god of the traveller and of merchants, often represented in the typical outfit of the traveller, a cloak, high boots, and a broad-brimmed hat). The relationship is indisputable; so what do we make of it? Nowhere in ancient literature do we find Hermes giving orders or otherwise asserting dominance over the Winds. He does not even visit Aeolus - it is Iris who does this, who will later lose her role as 'messenger of the gods' to Hermes. It seems that many of the more ancient nature deities - and here we include beings like the Winds alongside the more powerful of the old gods like Gaia and Rhea - were

³³² W. H. Roscher, *supra* n.86.

³³³ Alcaeus, frg.38b (P.Oxyrhyncus 1233 frg.1, ii 2166(b) 1); Pindar, *Pythian Odes* IV.210; Lucretius V.83, Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* I.9 and I.11; Quintus of Smyrna *The Fall of Troy*, XIV.474ff.

assimilated into the powers that made up the fabric of the new, Olympian, gods, and that these gods shared characteristics with each other - therefore we may find the 'earth mother' archetype once embodied by Gaia now shared between Demeter, Persephone, Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite and Athena, depending upon the location of the particular cult or shrine. We will see below (4.2) that very few gods seek to control the Winds - Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Rhea - and only one demi-god, Aeolus; and it is implied that the Winds suffer this rule for the sake of the balance of the cosmos, not because they owe fealty to any particular god. It would therefore seem that the nature of Hermes was intended to capture and subsume the essence of the Wind-cult - which is of Bronze Age origin, if not earlier - not deliberately, but because Hermes' role as 'messenger of the gods' required him to be fast-moving, and so when he took on this attribute of being 'as swift as the wind', then naturally the other attributes attached to the Winds followed, making him also the god of psychopomps, agility, travel, etc.

Personifications of abstract concepts like Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) also merge with the duties of the Winds. These deities may be seen as a pair, lifting the corpse of the deceased to translate it to the Underworld, and as such, they are helpers of Hermes Psychopompos (fig.86). They appear most frequently on Attic white-ground lekythoi, and have often been thought to represent Boreas and Zephyrus as psychopomps rather than Hypnos and Thanatos. Usually one is bearded, with tousled hair, while the other is youthful, which inclined modern viewers to the belief that these were intended to depict Winds rather than anything else; but, with no inscriptions to identify the figures, we cannot be certain. Almost all such characters on lekythoi now are identified as Hypnos and Thanatos. Their physical similarity to the Winds is marked - bearded or youthful, they are male and winged, and the Hellenistic head of Hypnos (fig.87) has wings developing from his forehead in the style of a Wind-god. They are not often mentioned in literature - Hypnos has a brief moment of fame in *Iliad* XIV.277ff, when he agrees to send Zeus to sleep so that Hera's Argive army may better attack the Trojans, and he rushes to Poseidon with "winged urging" at XIV.424, but it would appear that they were never granted cult status as were the Winds, perhaps because their role laid down in the Homeric corpus followed them, always making them serve as a pair, and only in the context of death and burial. We

may add to these abstracts of Sleep and Death the winged figures such as Nike (Victory), who, like Hypnos and Thanatos, can be equally swift; and also the small *eidola*, the 'ghosts' or souls of the deceased flying from the corpse without the aid of Hermes, Hypnos, Thanatos or the Winds. With these beings, however, we should not look to the Winds as a precedent for their nature, but probably to the *ba*-birds of ancient Egypt, whom they most resemble³³⁴.

Finally, we shall allow a brief look at Eros, the sole winged Olympian deity. His history is a complicated one, with many variants for his birth-myth. The Presocratics held that he was born from Chaos, from an egg fertilised by the primordial Wind/Serpent-god Ophion-Boreas (see below 4.1.i), and was thus the oldest of the gods, for desire is a normal state of human nature, and without it, there would be no existence. Later myths said that Eros was the child of Zephyrus and Iris, or of Aphrodite by Zeus or Ares. Whatever the parentage, the hint of violence is unmistakable: Wind, Zeus the storm-god, or Ares, god of war. Eros himself is a violent deity, and seemingly outside the control of the Olympians, as there are many myths that testify to the power of Eros' darts striking the gods, especially Zeus, which would suggest an origin older than that of the Pantheon, putting Eros on the same level as our Wind-gods, Gaia and Rhea - elemental or abstract forces that cannot be controlled except through the media of prayer and sacrifice. The Classical Athenian image of Eros is that of a young winged man of great beauty (fig.88), and he can appear alone or in a plural form - the Erotes. His iconography is sometimes strange; we may explain his wings not only because of his birth-connection with the Winds, but also because of the reputation of the swiftness of Love, yet how do we explain the images of him pursuing maidens and youths? We may reiterate the argument of section 2.2.1 above, that Eros is rarely - if ever - acting on his own behalf, but for another (mortal or immortal), or is symbolising the abstract 'Love', particularly as he is often shown hovering above two protagonists in scenes of marriage or passion. His link with

³³⁴ The *ba* is but one of five things needed by the deceased in order to live successfully in the after-life. It is a human-headed bird of indeterminate type, and may best be described as one's moral motivation and movement, enabling one to be free. They were thought to leave the tombs and inhabit necropolii after sundown, feeding from offerings and libations; hence the perception of them as a kind of ghost. For more on the subject, see J. Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice" in B. E. Shafer, *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, London, Routledge, 1991: 145 and fig.32 (p.51).

the Winds remains a tenuous one, based only on the story of his birth, and it seems that the only thing that they share is the speed of flight as represented by their wings.

In conclusion, we may see that this section on iconography has been weighted towards the Classical Greek perception of Wind-gods, particularly those of the fifth century. This is because the most wide-ranging evidence that remains to us dates from this period, and which may be traced back to the political and military battles of the Persian Wars. The genre of the chase/rape sequences may be similarly related to the social changes forced by the aftermath of the wars, and can be illustrated by not only the Boreas-Oreithuia myth, but also the images of the sexually-rampant Eos pursuing men, and the drop in favour of homosexual images such as those typified by Zephyrus-Hyacinthus. Later images, such as those on Italiote pottery, function more as erotica than as 'propaganda' or social commentary, and towards the middle of the Hellenistic period, Winds became little more than decoration on many artistic works: examples such as mosaics, the Grand Cameo of France, or the Tutela medallion show that the public perceived the Winds in a manner which more or less took them for granted. They appeared on cosmological mosaics simply because they were one aspect of the heavens that could not be ignored, and therefore had to appear; the Winds-as-horses on the Great Altar at Pergamon may function in the same way.

However, there were occasions when the Winds were conceived of as being more than space-fillers. Images of real meteorological winds embodied by the iconography of a mythological Wind may be found on the Tower of the Winds or the Tazza Farnese, showing that the mythological Winds were merely a trigger for the power of the meteorological winds when a statement was intended through a piece of art or sculpture - i.e., Andronicus of Cyrrhus intended that the viewers of his horologion should associate each of the images of the mythological Winds with the nature of the meteorological wind, and its relationship to trade (for example, Lips and sailing). Naturally, some of the cosmological images that featured the Winds did not place them there simply as space-fillers, but gave them a purpose imbued with

religious meaning, and it is these images - most often found in mystery-religions - that we will examine in the next section.

3.0. The Winds in Cult, Magic and Death.

Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! Rage! Blow!
 You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout
 Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!
 You sulphurous and thought-executing fires,
 Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
 Singe my white head! And thou, all-shaking thunder,
 Strike flat the thick rotundity o'the world!
 - *King Lear*, Act III, Scene 1.

In this section we are concerned with the iconography and literature associated with the Winds in cult and ritual. Control over the Winds has been seen as desirable throughout the ancient world, as such influence was important not only for sea-travel and war, but also for farming and for carrying the souls of the dead. Thus there developed specific cults dedicated to one or all winds, or to storms, to call or lull them. Rites for particular winds include the cult for the Etesians (meltemi) on Ceos, and the annual Sicyonian offering to ensure that the winds remain favourable. Magicians claimed to be able to manipulate the winds to do their bidding, sometimes imprisoning them in leather bags, like Aeolus, or in knots upon a string. Witches were considered adept at weather-magic, and we shall look at the literary examples of Circe and Medea, while the Greek magical papyri include spells and charms to help one in the influencing of the Winds. Not all cults attempted to control the wind, however; some, like the eastern mysteries such as Mithraism, believed that the four Winds were a vital part of the order and stability of the universe, which is based upon the number four: four elements, four humours, four Seasons, four Winds. They are also shown in this cosmological role upon sarcophagi and grave-stelai, but in the rituals of death and burial they are multifaceted deities, acting as agents of death and of regeneration, as psychopomps, angels, spirits of the ancestors, and deliverers of heroes and emperors to their apotheosis. In this section we shall firstly discuss the establishment of cults in various regions before examining eastern mystery-cults, with particular emphasis on Mithraism, then move on to a brief glance at the practice of magic, and finally how the Winds were perceived in the cult of the dead.

3.1. The Cult of the Winds.

There are several types of cultic belief that may be found in antiquity, namely animism, theism, and ancestor-worship. Some overlap between these three separate beliefs may be expected, and indeed were common throughout all periods to greater or lesser extents. Animism has its origins in the Bronze and Iron Ages, being the worship of objects that affect the lives of humans, for example, the sun, the moon, the ocean, the winds, while theism may be defined by the animistic deities thus worshipped being given personal names - such as Boreas, Helios, Selene. Ancestor-worship was a relic of its own past, made for reasons of remembrance in a society when the dead were often seen as being wise (see, for example, the journey to the Underworld by Odysseus to ask the advice of Teiresias at *Odyssey* XI.90-149). By the classical era, theism of the Winds was more or less fully developed, and may be seen especially clearly at Athens, when after the destruction of the cult of the Eudanemoi during the Persian invasion, the Athenians ritually deconsecrated the cult-site and raised an altar to Boreas instead, to give thanks for his help in the wars. Commemorative altars and thank-offerings are the most common reasons for the establishment of a cult to the Winds, even during the Roman period, such as the cult to the mistral founded by Augustus in Gaul. Some may be established in response to a prophecy, or as a bribe to a wind before a journey. The sacrifices made to the Winds also vary with location and wealth: lambs, sheep and goats are the most common, with white sheep sacrificed to good winds and black sheep to the storms (perhaps because of their resemblance to clouds bringing fine or stormy weather? cf. Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1.344), but we also have evidence from poorer quarters for the burning of incense or the killing of a cockerel, and for the richer devotee, oxen, donkeys and even horses are cited as being the required offerings. Here we shall begin by examining the cults, sacrifices and oracles from Crete and the Mycenaean world, and then from Greece and the Roman empire.

3.1.1. Crete and the Mycenaean World.

From the Linear B tablets of Crete and Pylos we have a little evidence for a cult of the Winds, which would be appropriate for such seafaring kingdoms that would rely so heavily on the vagaries of wind and wave. The Amnisus cave, close to the northernmost harbour that served central Crete and specifically the city of Knossos, contains four hollows which may have been used as bothroi (votive pits), as they are full of shattered earthenware containers³³⁵. Such bothroi would be used as sacred sites to offer to chthonic deities, or to Winds (see below), and sacrifices would be of bloody or bloodless type. To name this location as aⁿ altar to the Winds is entirely feasible given that the harbour of Amnisus is open to buffeting by some extremely strong winds, and so ships putting in at this port would have to approach and tack in with great care. The use of the bothroi to tame such fierce winds would be in keeping with later Classical sacrifices, such as that at Titane (see below).

From Late Minoan Linear B tablets we have repeated recordings of the position of a Priestess of the Winds at Knossos. These listings appear in a ritual calendar that notes down specific offerings that should be offered to particular gods, or where their priests may go within restricted limits. One such tablet bears the words *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* ('Priestess of the Winds': receptive dative of the feminine singular³³⁶), and lists perfumes and oils as suitable offerings for Winds and also for Dictaeon Zeus and for the Erin~~y~~es (Furies)³³⁷. Three separate mentions of this priestess suggests that there were at least three cult sites on Crete, with one probably based at Amnisus itself, although it is not specifically mentioned.

Here we should turn to the image on a Minoan gemstone found in a cave on Mt. Ida (fig.89). This shows a female figure wearing a long flounced skirt as was the fashion on Crete, standing beside an altar with the Horns of Consecration on top of it. Sprigs of vegetation sprout from the sides and the centre of the altar, and behind the woman. She raises her arms to shoulder height, and appears to be blowing into a conch-shell³³⁸. Is she the Priestess of the Winds? It would seem so; conch-shell

³³⁵ N. Marinatos and D. Hirmer, *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas*, Munich, 1960: 11, 67; P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises*, Paris, 1964: 82ff.

³³⁶ R. Hampe, *supra* n.87: 24.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.* 25-6.

trumpets are often associated with Tritons or Wind-gods, especially in classical times, and the shell itself is frequently found in graves or made from faience or other materials, which would suggest that this priestess is calling or attempting to soothe the Wind-gods whose altar she stands at.

From the Pylos Linear B tablets we have recorded the personal name of 'Zephyrus' (*ze-py-ro*)³³⁹. This may be evidence that a cult existed here at one time, as it is common practice for men to take the names, or name-derivatives, of various deities that had perhaps done their family some service in the past. In the same instance, we have the personal name 'Zephyrides' on Thasos³⁴⁰, which may also suggest that the west wind had proved favourable to his family, or else they wanted to ensure the god's benevolence for their child.

Hampe also points to a Linear B tablet that mentions the Erinyes alongside the Wind-cult, linking them with the Attic ancestor-cult of the Hesychidai ('Fury-soothers'), and asking if this is not similar to the task of the Eudanemoi (Wind-lullers; see below). One of the Corinthian Wind-layers, the Anemo[^]koitai, was named Epimenides of Crete, and thus, says Hampe :

Möglicherweise hatte überhaupt die Windmagie in Griechenland - wie so vieles andere in der griechischen Religion - ihren Ursprung im minoischen Kreta³⁴¹.

3.1.2. Greece and the Hellenic World.

On the Greek mainland, the earliest date for a Wind cult is during Mycenaean times. In Athens, the discovery of a bothros between the altar of Ares and the Panathenaic Way in the agora may be evidence of the cult of the Eudanemoi³⁴². This is mentioned by Arrian's *Anabasis* III.16.8 when he talks of the statues of the Tyrannicides:

These statues Alexander sent back to Athens, where they now stand in the Cerameicus, on the way to the Acropolis opposite the Metroon and not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi. This altar stands on level ground, as everyone knows who has been initiated into the Mysteries of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis.

³³⁹ E. Risch, "Zephyrus", *Mus.Helv.* 25 (1968): 206.

³⁴⁰ *IG* XII 8.376.

³⁴¹ R. Hampe, *supra* n.87: 27.

³⁴² H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953", *Hesperia* 23 (1954): 31-67; R. Hampe, *supra* n.87: 18-22.

The Eudanemoi (Lull-Winds) are based on the eponymous name of a clan-ancestor whose name was Eudanemos, revered as an angel in Christian times according to Hesychius³⁴³. Many Mycenaean tombs which survived into the Classical period were seen as places of ancestor-worship, such as the Altar of the Unknown God³⁴⁴ that St. Paul notices on his way to the Areopagus (Acts XVII.23), so it may be that the altar to the Eudanemoi was something similar. However, Arrian does imply that there is a second altar to this cult in Eleusis, and we know that at Corinth there was a cult of the Anemokoitai (Wind-Layers)³⁴⁵, whose name suggests that they, like the Eudanemoi, had some control over the raising and lulling of the winds.

The bothros discovered in the agora (map 2) contains votive offerings from at least the seventh century B.C., with the last sacrifice dating from 490-480, including a red-figured volute krater by the Eucharides Painter. The sacrificial animals are all ovi-caprid with several goat horns found intact, the kind of offering typical for the placating of the Winds (a black lamb in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 845). The bothros is of ring-altar type, made from chalkstone, closed with iron pegs, and topped with a slab of Pentelic marble. The bloody or bloodless offerings would be poured onto the slab to reach the 'grave' buried beneath the ground, as in chthonic cult ritual. We have already seen the connection between Winds and the earth with some of the images depicting Boreas as a serpent-tailed deity, suggesting his chthonic links with Gaia, and Zephyrus is referred to as "earth-born" by Aeschylus³⁴⁶. The fact that the cover-slab of the bothros is hardly worn suggests that it may have been a forbidden area; as Hampe notes, areas sacred to the wind are taboo in many cultures³⁴⁷, and we know of the cliff sacred to the south wind in Cyrene that will, if touched by the impious hand of man, summon a sandstorm (Seneca *NQ* V.2.1); and Odysseus' men break the oath laid upon them by Aeolus when they open the bag containing the Winds. The sacred precinct of the wind-soul cult of the Tritopatores (see below, 3.4) was marked with boundary

³⁴³ Hesychius, s.v. *Eudanemoi*; see also A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, C.U.P, 1940: 103.

³⁴⁴ P. W. van der Horst, "The Altar of the 'Unknown God' in Athens (*Acts* 17.23) and the Cult of the 'Unknown Gods' in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", *ANRW* 2: 18.2 (1976): 10-22.

³⁴⁵ Hesychius, s.v. *Anemokoitai*.

³⁴⁶ Aeschylus, *Aga.* 1.692.

³⁴⁷ R. Hampe, *supra* n.87: 21.

stones on which was inscribed *habaton* (do not enter/do not step upon). Perhaps the coverstone of this bothros was similarly marked, or perhaps originally an altar of some perishable material, such as clay or wood, stood on top of the bothros. In any case, the cult-site came to an abrupt ending around 480 B.C., and Hampe believes that it may have been destroyed by the invading Persian army of that same year³⁴⁸. If this was so, then it may explain why the cult was not revived following the defeat of the Persians: a new wind-cult, that of Boreas on the Ilissus, took its place. The old cult was not entirely forgotten, though; a ceremony was held that may have officially deconsecrated the site, and it is from this ritual that we have the krater by the Eucharides Painter and the ovi-caprid sacrifices. After this, the bothros was sealed with a heavy lid and closed tightly with iron pins - perhaps in the manner that Aeolus tied the Winds in a bag, to stop the old spirits from escaping and wreaking havoc, as Hampe says³⁴⁹ - and the cult-centre was abandoned, still clearly visible in the ground, but not buried. It was later looted for anything of importance that it might have contained.

The use of bothroi in the worship of the Winds is testified by Pausanias II.12.1 during his travels in the Argolid:

At Titane... [when] you descend from the ridge... there is an altar of the Winds, where the priest sacrifices to the Winds on one night of every year. He performs other rites which are not spoken of, using four pits [bothroi] taming the savagery of the air, and in fact they say he sings the incantations of Medea³⁵⁰.

Bothroi may seem an odd manner of attempting to control the winds, as it suggests chthonic deities rather than heavenly beings; but we must not forget that, to the majority of the Presocratic philosophers (see below, 4.3), winds were born from the earth, as was Typhon. Despite the evidence of Aristotle and Theophrastus, that winds came from the sky, ancient rites such as those at Titane would continue to offer to the 'underground' winds, those stormy offspring of Typhon, or perhaps the Aeolean cave-dwelling winds as detailed in the *Odyssey*.

³⁴⁸ Ibid: 22.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ For more on Medea, see 3.3 below.

We have already discussed the iconography of the cult of Boreas-Oreithuia in Athens (no archaeological evidence remains), possibly recalled during the Panathenaea by the ode written by Simonides that was sung, according to Himerius, on each such occasion³⁵¹, and will see below (section 4.5) how a wind-cult grew up in Methana connected to the vine stock, but there are many other instances of wind-worship within the Greek world. At Laciadai in Attica, there was an altar to Zephyrus (Pau.I.37.1), altars to Boreas at both Megalopolis (Pau.VIII.27.14) and Methydrion in Arcadia (Pau.VIII.36.6), a hymn dedicated to Eurys in Sparta³⁵², and cult-sites to the storm-winds at Alpheios in Arcadia (Pau.VIII.29.1) and at Cleonai³⁵³, to the winds in Coroneia in Boeotia (Pau.IX.34.2), at Thyia in Phocis (Hdt.VII.178), and in Macedonia (Clem.Alex. *Strom.* 673), and a sanctuary to Zeus Euanemus (Zeus of the Good Winds) in Sparta (Pau.III.13.8). Further afield, the cult of the winds is alive and well, as may be seen by an inscription celebrating Boreas from the terrace below the temple of Apollo Carneios in the city of Ancient Thera³⁵⁴, a compass-altar from Philadelphia in Lydia³⁵⁵, and inscriptions from Seleucia in Cilicia³⁵⁶, from Heracleia on the Pontus naming one of the local tribes as 'Boreas'³⁵⁷, and also from Thourii, which declares that Boreas is an elected citizen of the town, complete with a house and allotment of land³⁵⁸.

Specific sacrifices are mentioned at Athens - lambs or goats, as we have seen above; a ram on Ceos³⁵⁹, a white cockerel at Methana (Pau.II.34.3), an ass at Tarentum (Hesychius s.v. *Anemotas*), oxen in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* I.1105-1161 (perhaps with Aeolus' ox-hide bag in mind), and a horse at Taygetus in Laconia (Festus 181). The horse is a very rare beast for sacrifice, generally used only on occasions of great importance (like the swearing of a *very* binding oath, such as

³⁵¹ Himerius, *Oration* 47.

³⁵² *A Paean to Eurys*, 2nd century B.C., Strasbourg Papyrus frg.858, in D. A. Campbell (tr./ed.), *Greek Lyric* Vol.4, Loeb, 1993.

³⁵³ G. Farrell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909: V.415.

³⁵⁴ Read retrograde; *I.G. XII Facs.* III, no.357.

³⁵⁵ W. H. Buckler, "Lydian Records", *JHS* 37 (1917): 99-100.

³⁵⁶ A. B. Cook, *supra* n.343: 160.

³⁵⁷ G. Doublet, "Inscriptions de Paphlagonie", *BCH* XIII (1889): 316-7.

³⁵⁸ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII.61; cf. Pau. VIII.36.6.

³⁵⁹ Or perhaps a bull if the drought was severe and the Etesian winds were late; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, University of California Press, 1983: 109ff.

those taken by the kings of Greece when Helen chose her husband Menelaus), and this sacrifice to the Winds is comparable to the same offering at Taygetus to Helios (Pau.III.20.4), again a weather-god. Given the special relationship between horses and Winds, it should come as no surprise that the animals were used as a sacrifice, but we should also remember how expensive these creatures were and what they represented (see below 4.1.iv): the sole other deity to receive such an offering was, naturally, Poseidon, and this was but rarely. Perhaps one reason for the impressive sacrifice was because the Taygetus is the tallest peak in Laconia (2400m); we know that high places were especially favoured for communing with the weather-gods (Mt. Ida on Crete; Titane, above; Mt. Athos: Ari. *Problems* XXVI.944b 14-8), as villages and towns are affected either by strong down-draughts or by rain-shadows, either of which would be detrimental to crops planted close beside the mountain range. The most famous mythological sacrifice to the Winds is Iphigenia, tricked into coming from Mycenae to where the Greek fleet waited for the contrary winds to drop at Aulis³⁶⁰; in some versions of the myth, the maiden is substituted at the last minute for a deer by Artemis, suggesting a horror of human sacrifice by the later writers. Certainly it is a far cry from the offerings of young virgins, horses or sheep to the somewhat more humble sacrificial burning of incense to the Winds, presumably all that the poor could afford: Menander's fisherman in *The Carthaginian* says:

Although I have offered a bit of incense to Boreas, yet I have never caught a fish; I shall have to make lentil soup³⁶¹.

The sacrifices were usually ordained by priests of the cult, or of another cult (for example, that of Zeus or Helios) whose patronage extended to the Winds. Some, such as the Iphigenia sacrifice, were single occurrences and never to be repeated, and these most often occur in times of war (we will see a large number in Roman literature): Xenophon reports in *Anabasis* IV.5.3ff that across the Centrites River on the Armenian-Carduchian border, a storm of such ferocity blew up that "one of the soothsayers" told them to sacrifice to the winds; after they had done so, "it seemed quite clear to everyone that the violence of the wind abated." Other sacrifices, such as

³⁶⁰ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1.214ff; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1.183ff.

³⁶¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* IX.385. See also the Orphic Hymns, 3.2.2 below.

the offerings made at Titane and Ceos, were yearly, linked with bringing on a specific type of wind, like the Etesians.

Finally we turn to oracles regarding the Winds. We have already noted the most important oracle for the Athenians, that of Boreas as their son-in-law in Hdt.VII.189. Herodotus is our best source for oracular prophecies, and those concerned with the Winds all pertain to the Persian Wars - unsurprisingly since the majority of the decisive battles were fought at sea where the wind would have most effect. Thus, at VII.178, the people of Delphi ask their own oracle what to do when the Persians are menacing the coast. The oracle replies, "Pray to the winds, for they will be good allies to Greece", and so an altar was consecrated to the Winds at Thyia, and sacrifices were made and were still offered in Herodotus' day. This oracle seems to have worked in conjunction with the one about Boreas at VII.189, although we are not told whence this second oracle came; presumably not from Delphi, as Herodotus usually mentions Delphic oracles (since it is the only 'true' oracle, as proved by Croesus at I.47). However, he does tell us of a far more ancient oracular pronouncement by the pre-Homeric prophet Musaeus of Athens and the oracle of Bacis (another oracle that Herodotus believes to be particularly trustworthy), which had both foretold the outcome of the Battle of Salamis³⁶². Also gaining kudos from this event was the old (and then-forgotten) prophecy of Lysistratus, an Athenian soothsayer, who declared: "The Colian women shall cook their food with oars"; the wrecked Persian fleet was blown ashore by a westerly wind at Colias, thus fulfilling this oracle.

3.1.3. Rome and the Empire.

The cult of the Winds in Rome was basically similar to that in Greece, including the same sacrifices, but the cult-places were not often in elevated locations. Sacrifices seem to have been made as and when the situation demanded it, particularly when departing by sea for war, and occasionally a favourable Wind was bribed or thanked by a commemorative altar and (doubtless short-lived) cult.

³⁶² Hdt. VIII.96.

The correct way of placating the winds was to pray to them and then to sacrifice. Lucretius offers a rather dismal view of matters when discussing a storm at sea:

When also the supreme violence of a furious wind upon the sea sweeps over the waters, the chief admiral of a fleet along with his mighty legions and elephants, does he not crave the gods' peace with vows, does he not in his panic seek with prayers the peace of the winds and favouring breezes? All in vain, since nonetheless he is often caught up in the hurricane and driven upon the shoals of death!³⁶³

To avert this disaster, Cicero advises that a victim must be sacrificed to the waves before setting out on the journey³⁶⁴, while Livy is slightly more specific: one should offer a prayer to the gods and goddesses of the sea and land, kill the victim, then throw its organs into the sea before giving the signal to sail³⁶⁵; one may also pour libations to gain the favour of propitious winds³⁶⁶. The types of sacrificial victim that may be used as offerings for the Winds are sheep, lambs or goats (black for the storm-winds, white for benevolent winds: Virgil, *Aeneid* III.116ff; V.763ff; Horace *Epodes* X.20-4), as in the Greek sacrifices.

The physical evidence of the cult of the Winds in the Roman world is reasonably well attested. Nothing remains of the numerous "wayside shrines" that were once considered sacred to Zephyrus³⁶⁷, nor the cult that began following a naval disaster to appease the angry Winds³⁶⁸, nor even of the cult to the *Circius* (mistral) that Augustus established whilst staying in Gaul³⁶⁹, and while Tertullian complains that the colours of the chariot teams at Rome are 'the colours of idolatry', with white representing the Zephyrs³⁷⁰, this is not hard evidence of a cult. The most famous of the Roman Wind-cults, however, must surely focus on the Ara Ventorum (Altar of the Winds) that once stood in the centre of Rome (fig.90). This takes the form of a stone column with the words *Ara Ventorum* inscribed at the top; beneath this there is the

³⁶³ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* V.1226ff.

³⁶⁴ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* III.51.

³⁶⁵ Livy, *Ad Urbe Condita* XXIX.27.5ff.

³⁶⁶ Appian, *Civil Wars* V.11.98.

³⁶⁷ Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* I.11.

³⁶⁸ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II.6.

³⁶⁹ Seneca, *NQ* V.17.5.

³⁷⁰ Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* IX.

prow or 'beak' of a ship, and below this is the flying figure of a Wind-god, naked and youthful with wings in his hair, sounding his conch-shell trumpet. This was originally placed beside the *rostrum* or speaker's platform, used by tribunes, senators, consuls, generals and emperors to declaim to the gathered crowds, particularly after a victorious battle. The platform gained its name from the captured 'beaks' (*rostra*) captured in 338 B.C., when the consul Gaius Maenius attacked the Volscian fleet in Antium and completely defeated it. The *rostra* were seized to mark the end of Volsci, Rome's rival power, and it is easy to see why the Winds would be thanked for their part in such manoeuvres.

In the provinces, the cult was probably as popular as it was at Rome. Apart from Augustus' foundation of the cult to the mistral, we have evidence for three other sites of worship within Gaul. The chief location is Nîmes, which we have already discussed above in section 2.3.4 (fig.68). This large commercial city, as we noted previously, has a close connection with both the Winds (perhaps because of its situation on the River Gard, for water-transport) and with the cult of Augustus; perhaps it was here that the emperor established the mistral-cult? However, we cannot prove this, so we will examine fig.91, a second century A.D. double-sided altar from Nîmes showing one Wind-god as a youth and the other as a mature and bearded man. Both have wings in their hair, and pointed ears as on sarcophagus lids (see below, 3.4), which suggests a satyric nature, hinting at possible savagery. A dedication on the altar reads *Volkano et Ventis*, Fire and Wind, which may be a reference to a battle, or perhaps to something more mundane, such as the saving of part of the city from a fire by contrary winds.

Figs.92-93 show items more concerned with actual cult practice and ritual than the focus of worship itself. The objects in fig.92 are from a first century A.D. tomb at Soings in Sologne, and are of white-painted terracotta. They are curious-looking objects, with the fattened features of a baby. Both have a pierced lug on the top of the head to enable them to be suspended, suggesting that this rite was carried out indoors. The back of the heads are hollow, as is the trumpet of the left-hand object, and Cumont believes that they may have been used as *oscilla* for purification rituals, through which incense may have been burnt to mimic the 'breath' of Wind-gods

blowing³⁷¹. Fig.93, another *oscillum*, this time of bronze, may have served a similar function, although as it is two-dimensional it may just have been hung on the wall, like the bronze heads from Angleur (fig.101). What kind of rites may have used such objects? We can only hypothesise, yet it might make sense if we were to look for an answer to the mystery-cult of Mithraism: this definitely employed the *oscilla* of Wind-gods, for they were an integral part of the Mithraic cosmos, and Mithraic rites were always conducted in a cave or at least partially underground. What may have begun as a cult of the Winds may have synthesised with the more attractive and more powerful of the eastern mystery-cults.

3.2. The Winds in Eastern Mystery Cults.

There is much that we still do not know about the mystery cults such as Mithraism, Orphism and Aeonism, with some scholars believing that the latter two cults had a different genesis and growth³⁷². Mystery religions have an ancient basis, with the cult of Magna Mater (Cybele) celebrated in Neolithic Anatolia before its spread westwards. In Greece, the rites of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and those of Dionysus everywhere were joined by the more esoteric mysteries of Orpheus. In the Hellenistic world, the worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis gained a strong following with its syncretism with contemporary religions (Isis as Aphrodite-Venus), and Aeonism became a subsidiary branch of the Isis cult, taking its lead from this 'mother religion' to adapt to the demands of the Hellenistic world. Mithraism as a purely western, and artistic, phenomenon is known only from around 100 A.D., although it had a large following in its eastern, and literary, guise under the earlier Indian and Persian empires.

Mystery religions are so called because of their complicated system of initiation (*mysteria*), when a new member of the cult had to undergo a trial. The meetings and the worship of the divine figure central to the cult were to be kept secret by its members, and thus we know very little about the actual practices involved. It is

³⁷¹ F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1942: 163.

³⁷² Orphism: W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London, Methuen, 1952 (2nd ed). Aeonism: D. Levi, "Aeon", *Hesperia* 13 (1944): 269-314.

perhaps easy to see what drew people to mystery religions - some welcomed women (Cybele, the Bona Dea), while others admitted only men (Mithras), and many took no notice of social distinctions - slaves and freedmen were allowed as members alongside the freeborn and wealthy. There was no onus upon people to join; they came of their own free will. Mysteries are essentially a form of personal votive religion, whereby proximity to the divine would offer the worshipper their salvation. People often made offerings to ask for health and safety - in sanctuaries throughout the ancient world we may find votive statues, models of afflicted body parts, written dedications and so forth - so it follows that eventually, these mystery religions should grow up based upon a purely votive nature. Mithraic monuments clearly show their votive character³⁷³, while Isis and Serapis were well-known as healer-gods, and were praised accordingly. While it is likely that some degree of syncretism took place between all three religions we shall look at in this section - Mithraism, Orphism and Aeonism - this is mainly because they had a similar theology. This was based on cosmology, with the Seasons, Winds, Sun, Moon and constellations all playing an important role in assisting the central deity - Mithras, Phanes, or Aeon - to rule the heavens.

3.2.1. Mithraism.

Mithraism had a great following, particularly under the Roman Empire where it was known as a 'soldier's religion', when it spread from Persepolis to mid-way down the Nile, to the Western edges of the Black Sea and all along the frontiers of the German provinces and in Britain; yet Mithraism contains two separate belief structures: the first being of Iranian origin, known from a purely literary source; the second being Western Mithraism as practised by the Romans, which, in the extant record, is represented pictorially rather than by the written word. The extent to which the two branches of Mithraism overlapped is probably very slight, yet the Winds appear in both Iranian and Western Mithraism as more or less fundamental deities in the initial cosmology of the religions.

³⁷³ W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Harvard University Press, 1987: 15.

(i) Indo-Iranian religion: Mit(h)ra and the Winds.

Mitra (old Indian) or Mithra (old Iranian) is a deity attested in literary sources such as the sacred texts of the Indians, the *RgVeda*, and of the Iranians, the *Avesta*, both of which date from the fourteenth century B.C. The root of the name means 'friend' in Classical Sanskrit and in the *RgVeda*, while it means 'contract' in the *Avesta*³⁷⁴. The two concepts are not so far apart, since concluding a (formal) contract seals a friendship, and people make (informal) contracts through simple interaction with their friends. Mitra or Mithra (henceforward Mithra) is therefore the 'god Contract', a personification of an abstract concept. His chief duties as a god are to defend and reward those faithful to their contracts (*RgVeda*), or to avenge himself upon those who break their contracts (*Avesta*)³⁷⁵. Mithra is therefore the deity who stands between man and the gods - the act of worship is essentially the creation and affirmation of a contract, and so it is unsurprising that Mithra is the god most associated with the supreme being of light and good, Varuna, the 'god True-Speech' (also known as Ahura Mazda)³⁷⁶. The vast majority of Indo-Iranian gods are personified concepts, with the exception of Vayu, the 'god Wind', who is simply a personification of an element. These deities all act as allies to, and extensions of, Varuna, yet they can also be identified as separate entities, as may be seen in this example from a *RgVedic* text:

Let us not be under the wrath of Varuna and of Vayu, nor under that of
Mitra, who is most dear to men³⁷⁷.

Mithra is the most accessible deity due to his nature of the 'contract god'; what is interesting here is his connection with Vayu, the Wind, a connection found also in the Iranian texts, as Thieme notes that Mithra appears in the *Avesta* alongside *vata vereθraiano*, the 'victorious winds', on several occasions³⁷⁸.

³⁷⁴ P. Thieme, "The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief", in J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the 1st International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, Vol. 1, Manchester University Press, 1975: 22-23.

³⁷⁵ Ibid; p.29.

³⁷⁶ This association may also be seen in Western Mithriasm, where Mithras slays the bull for Helios (god of the sun) in order to balance the cosmos. The two gods are often shown together at the Sacred meal, or mounting to Helios' chariot.

³⁷⁷ *RgVeda* VII.62.4c-d.

³⁷⁸ P.Thieme, *supra* n.373: 30.

As in Greek mythology, the supreme deity of India and Iran controls the weather; sometimes this task is undertaken solely by Mithra, and on other occasions, it is the responsibility of both Varuna and Mithra³⁷⁹:

The rain winds (*masrut*) clothe themselves in clouds - by your magic
you [Mithra and Varuna] make the sky rain...³⁸⁰

This is presenting Varuna and Mithra as fertility gods, the harbingers of “luxuriant vegetation and thereby health”³⁸¹, thus fulfilling the heavenly part of a contract between the men who offer sacrifice to the gods, and the gods themselves who take care of the mortals on earth. It is important to note that the Indo-Iranians perceived a difference between Vayu, the god Wind, and other, lesser, winds which were under the control of the supreme god Varuna - although, strictly speaking, all other gods were under Varuna and were a part of him. This separatism in the cult of the Winds is a recurring factor throughout the ancient world - who has ultimate control over the weather?

Cumont believed that Western Mithraism developed from Indo-Iranian Mithraism, and read the iconography accordingly; Ulansey, however, suggests that the two religions are very separate, and are only related by name³⁸². Some compromise may be reached: the Romans saw no problem in synthesising the religions they encountered to merge with their own view of theology, so the cult may have begun as an adulterated version of the Indo-Iranian religion, then, during its gradual spread to the West, its ideas and approaches to its central theology altered to become more acceptable, yet suitably ‘mysterious’ and ‘Eastern’. It kept some ideas, and the name of its major deity, but was tempered by the West - in particular, given the reliance upon the god Helios, it seems to have been touched by Greek mythology and ritual practice. Certainly the representation of the Winds on Western Mithraic altars relies more heavily on the traditional Classical views of Wind-gods, rather than on any Eastern concepts, yet their fairly rare appearance, especially on the more developed tauroctonies (bull-slaying scenes), seems to obey the original Eastern concept of

³⁷⁹ Ibid: 31.

³⁸⁰ *RgVeda* V.63.6.

³⁸¹ P.Thieme, *supra* n.373: 31.

³⁸² D. Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries*, OUP, 1989: 8.

associating the elements with a notional supreme deity. This makes the Winds both outside of the control of Mithras himself - they are more ancient than he is - and yet they act as his subordinates for the sake of preserving the cosmic balance.

(ii) The Winds in Western Mithraism.

The extant sculptural record for Western Mithraism is fairly large, owing to the cult requirement that all mithraea should be built in a cave, or cave-like structure. This ensured the preservation of many of the altars and free-standing votive statues, despite the iconoclasm of the Christians during the end of the third century A.D. From the images left to us, we can hypothesise upon the nature of the religion, and upon its central myth. Mithras is usually depicted in a tauroctony, which can be very simple or extremely complex, as he wrestles the bull to its knees to slit its throat. The bull represents evil and darkness, possibly akin to the Bull of Heaven found in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* which was sent by Ishtar to destroy the earth after Gilgamesh rejected her suit³⁸³. Mithras must kill the bull in order to preserve the harmony of the cosmos; he is helped in his quest by several creatures, such as a scorpion that attacks the bull's testicles. When the bull is dead, Mithras ascends to the heavens to meet with Helios, god of light and truth.

Mithraic sculpture is rich in iconographic content, and it is generally accepted that this iconography is based upon the constellations and stars of the Northern Hemisphere³⁸⁴. On almost every tauroctony, certain animals and objects appear with regularity, and these can be related to a constellation or star: the bull (Taurus), the dog (Canis Major), the serpent (Hydra), the cup (Crater), the raven (Corvus), the scorpion (Scorpio), the lion (Leo), the ear of wheat (the star Spica). These are also indicative of the levels that a Mithraist must pass through in his initiations into the religion. Mithras himself may be the constellation of Orion³⁸⁵, or of Perseus³⁸⁶. The sun and moon are represented by busts or figures of Helios-Sol and Luna. In addition to these, the celestial twins or Mithraic torchbearers of Cautes (torch upright) and Cautopates

³⁸³ *Epic of Gilgamesh* VI.4.

³⁸⁴ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381; M. Spiedel, *Mithras-Orion*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1980.

³⁸⁵ M. Spiedel, *ibid*.

³⁸⁶ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 26.

(torch lowered), stand on either side of Mithras. Their presence has been explained as representing the dawn and sunset³⁸⁷, life and death³⁸⁸, fire and water³⁸⁹, and the spring and autumn equinoxes³⁹⁰. They are dressed in a similar fashion to Mithras, and appear to be extensions of his power. Campbell and Ulansey both associate Cautes and Cautopates with the Greek Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux³⁹¹; one function of the Dioscuri was to protect the traveller from harm, and this especially applied to sailors when out in a storm³⁹². The Dioscuri would ensure safe passage and favourable winds, and Ulansey quite correctly ties this in with his thesis that Cautes represents the vernal equinox and Cautopates the autumnal: the date of the two equinoxes mark, roughly, the start and end of the 'safe' sailing season. The sailing season in the ancient Mediterranean was very much at the mercy of the winds, and therefore the linking of the Dioscuri or the Torchbearers to the control of the winds (as a general concept rather than as individual deities) makes a great deal of sense. Iconographically, the Winds usually (but not always) appear in the four corners of the tauroctonies, with Cautes and Cautopates standing between them, possibly to represent the interposition of the gods between the elements and man.

Mithraic scenes other than that of the tauroctony can be found: Mithraism is no different to other mystery cults in that its central deity is seen by his/her worshippers as being the ruler, but never the creator, of the cosmos. Hence we also see the representations of the Birth of Mithras (emerging from the Cosmic Egg³⁹³), and Mithras-the-child as ruler of the cosmos, as well as the victorious feasting with Helios after the death of the bull. Tauroctonies that feature the Winds can be divided into two categories: those that feature two Winds, and those that feature four Winds. As stated above, tauroctonies vary in their complexity and iconographic richness, and so we

³⁸⁷ M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1963: 73.

³⁸⁸ L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1968: 35.

³⁸⁹ Ibid: 41.

³⁹⁰ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 64.

³⁹¹ L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387:34-5; D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 112.

³⁹² Their presence was heralded at sea by the appearance of St. Elmo's Fire; D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 116.

³⁹³ More often a Cosmic Rock in Mithraism. It derives from the very ancient concept of the Cosmic Egg, which was originally an Eastern belief, and was very prevalent in Old Kingdom Egypt as the Cosmic Hill or Mound. It appears again in Orphism and Aeonism, and it is perhaps likely that Western Mithraism adopted the idea of birth from a primeval object - be it Egg or Rock - from one of these earlier sources.

must pay careful attention to the other figures upon the monument to decide what role the Winds have therein. We should also note that it is very rare for us to be able to assign a specific date for a Mithraic monument, save for the rather vague 100-500 A.D.

(a) Tauroctonies with two Wind-gods.

The relief from Neuenheim (fig.94) seems to be from a second century mithraeum, as coins have been found there dating to 159 and 175 A.D.³⁹⁴. The tauroctony is rich and complex, with the typical central bull-slaying scene surrounded by persons and events from the life of Mithras (from the lower left upwards): Mithras-Atlas carrying the cosmic globe on his shoulders; Oceanus or Caelus reclining against a rock; Saturn handing the thunderbolt over to Jupiter; and Mithras emerging from the rock. Then, the head of a Wind-god blowing towards Mithras, who is breaking branches from a cypress-tree; Mithras aiming his bow before a rock; Mithras and Sol ascending in a *quadriga*; Luna descending in her *biga*; Mithras and his bow before another rock, and Mithras amidst the branches of a cypress-tree being blown upon by a second Wind-god. Finally we see episodes of Mithras and the bull: the bull grazes, it is caught by Mithras, it breaks free and drags Mithras along behind it, and the final capture of the bull for the slaughter.

Both Wind-gods are shown in profile, beardless and with rectangular wings set into their short curly hair. They are identified by Cumont as Notus at top left, and Boreas at top right³⁹⁵; Campbell explains it thus:

With the bust in the right hand panel is an *Arbor genetrix* [tree of birth] and with the other is an *Arbor frugifera* [tree of fruitfulness]... [these] symbols tend to confirm Cumont's identifications, since North is the place of Genesis and South of Apogenesis³⁹⁶.

This concept is a philosophical belief endorsed by Porphyry on the incarnation of souls, which was applied to Mithraism to the extent that Mithras was called 'Lord of Genesis'³⁹⁷. The Winds are here depicted as cosmological helpers to Mithras,

³⁹⁴ *CIMRM II*: 114.

³⁹⁵ L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387: 163; K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 204-5.

³⁹⁶ L. A. Campbell, *ibid.*

³⁹⁷ Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs* 24; D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 61.

appearing on this relief not only in this capacity but also as markers for their respective compass directions: the soul descends to its genesis through the constellation of Cancer, the northernmost part of the zodiac, aided by Boreas. The apogenesis, or ascent of the soul, is via the southernmost part of the zodiac, the constellation of Capricorn, aided this time by Notus³⁹⁸.

A similar schema is depicted on the relief from Osterburken (fig.95), which is, if anything, even more complicated than that of Neuenheim³⁹⁹. Here, the position (but not the function) of the two Wind-gods is reversed: Boreas, with a heavy beard and a thick mass of hair, blows wind from the top left corner down onto the small figure of Mithras who is depicted both emerging from the tree at his birth, and also when fully grown, is shown cutting the fruit of the tree. In the top right corner is Notus, youthful and beardless, blowing upwards towards the descending *biga* of Luna and the falling figure of Hesperus, who carries torches. The iconography appears to be the same in both cases. The similarity between the Osterburken and Neuenheim reliefs is notable; the two locations are close geographically, so perhaps there was some kind of mutual influence upon the sculptors of these Mithraic reliefs, or one place copied the other; in any case, these pieces are unique in their portrayal of the incarnation of the soul.

London's mithraeum, active from 150-500 A.D., yielded this fine zodiacal tauroctony (fig.96). Mithras slays the bull, accompanied by Cautus and Cautopates, within the circle of the zodiac. At top left, outside, Sol-Helios ascends the heavens while Luna descends at top right. The heads of two Wind-gods are placed at bottom left and right; they are generally identified as Boreas and Zephyrus⁴⁰⁰. Boreas is fierce and bearded, while Zephyrus is youthful. Both have a pair of wings from the centre of their hair. Their role on this tauroctony seems to be to lend their support to the deeds of Mithras. It will be noticed that two of the tauroctonies that include four Wind-gods feature a zodiac (Augusta Treverorum and Modena), which the Winds are outside - this is to underline their place in the cosmos before the coming of Mithras, and also may be related to the positioning of the four Winds and Seasons on certain mosaics

³⁹⁸ D. Ulansey, *ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *CIMRM II*: 118-9 for the full account.

⁴⁰⁰ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London, Phaidon, 1962: 153; K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 203-4.

(see section 2.3 above); i.e., the Winds refer to the foursquare stability of the cosmos (four elements, four seasons, four corners of the earth, four winds). In this piece from London, Sol-Helios and Luna take the place of two Wind-gods, as they are more important iconographically to the cult of Mithraism than are the Winds.

(b) Tauroctonies with Four Wind-gods.

Fig.97 is a relief from Augusta Treverorum which belongs to a small group of monuments depicting Mithras as *kosmokrater*, ruler of the cosmos. He is shown as a child, holding the globe of the world against his body with his left hand while he leans out and turns the wheel of the zodiac, symbol of both the heavens and of the procession of time, with his right hand. In the four corners of the relief can be seen the four Winds: Boreas (top left), Eurus (top right), Notus (bottom right) and Zephyrus (bottom left). Since there are no inscriptions to identify the characters, it is Campbell's tendency to identify the lower left Wind as Zephyrus because he is blowing towards the east⁴⁰¹, the direction that the relief was originally oriented towards; it would then follow that top left would be Boreas, and so on clockwise around the compass. Here we will follow Campbell, although it must be said that it probably does not matter which Wind is placed where, for the most part, as it is their presence upon a cosmological tauroctony that is the important thing, not their positioning. Here we may imagine the Winds to be assisting, with their breath, the young Mithras in the task of moving the heavens and thus time. They are there both as the element of stability, and also of the concept of eternal motion: the heavens will not change while the four Winds blow, but by their very act of blowing, they turn time forwards. However, it is also suggested that the Winds, who were part of the creation of the cosmos originally, appear on the 'Birth of Mithras' scenes in the same way as the Magi witnessed the birth of Christ; the action is taken not so much in submission as in recognition, the honouring of the *kosmokrater* by the elements both outside, and yet inside, the control of Mithras⁴⁰².

⁴⁰¹ L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387: 159.

⁴⁰² M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 77.

Carnuntum is the location of a large centre of Mithraism in Pannonia, with three successive altars and temples built there. The stone altar (fig.98) that stood close to the great tauroctony relief dates to between the early second and early third centuries A.D., and is a fascinating piece of sculpture. It is carved on four sides, depicting the Winds and Seasons in procession, shown as full-length figures⁴⁰³. At the front of the altar stands Caelus-Atlas, holding aloft the vault of the heavens; to his right is Aestas, the Summer, followed by Notus and Hiemas (Winter), Boreas and Eurus, Autumnas and Zephyrus, and finally Ver, the Spring. This altar is unique in Mithraic sculpture; other great sites of multiple mithraea, such as Heddernheim, Stockstadt or Dura have nothing (extant) comparable. Vermaseren notes that the Seasons are aiding Caelus by supporting the vaults of the heavens⁴⁰⁴; the Winds, however, are positioned in such a way as to suggest that they once played trumpets - possibly made of bronze. The progression of the figures around the altar fits into the accepted schema of a Season with an appropriate Wind: thus, Notus follows Aestas, Boreas follows Hiemas, Eurus follows Autumnus and Zephyrus follows Ver. This is interesting as it is at variance with the Greek belief that the Winds were the harbingers of the Seasons, although it does appear that in Mithraism, Seasons were considered more important indicators of the year's passing than Winds. The appearance of the trumpets gives a military air to the Winds; the Carnuntum mithraea was patronised by the XIII, XIV and XV legions, and Mithraism is seen as being primarily a soldier's religion⁴⁰⁵. Therefore the Winds could be considered as heralds, calling, or announcing, the Seasons.

Fig.99 shows a bronze plaque, possibly from the third century, from Brigetio (Pannonia). It depicts the tauroctony with the inclusion of seven busts below the main scene, representing the seven planets known in ancient times: Saturn, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus. Unusually, the images of Sol and Luna are duplicated, since they appear at top left (Sol) and top right (Luna) of the tauroctony. The seven planets are reflected in the seven grades of initiation for the followers of

⁴⁰³ Here I am following L. A. Campbell's identification (supra n.387: 165-6), which paraphrases Porphyry's Mithraic-context compass (*De Antro* 22-24).

⁴⁰⁴ *CIMRM II*: 216.

⁴⁰⁵ J. Liversidge, *Britain in the Roman Empire*, London, Cardinal, 1973: 448.

Mithras: the Raven, the Bride, the Soldier, the Lion, the Persian, the Sun-Courier, and the Father. As the worshipper made his way through the grades on earth, so his soul would wend heavenwards through the planets after death; as Vermaseren writes:

The concept of the soul's journey through the separate spheres of the planets led the followers of Mithras to believe that the Wind-gods could help or hinder this journey, a belief which explains why they are sometimes blowing upwards and sometimes downwards⁴⁰⁶.

The latter part of the sentence seems a little strained; the Winds are shown blowing in their respective directions, or turning the wheel of the zodiac as we have seen above, rather than up or down. The idea of a cosmological 'snakes and ladders' seems to sit uncomfortably with the carefully-planned Mithraic tauroctony. Yet Campbell may have had this Wind-Planet aspect in mind when he identified the four busts in the corners of the tauroctony as Wind-gods⁴⁰⁷. Certainly others do not share his opinion⁴⁰⁸, identifying the busts as those of the Seasons instead. The figures are rather indistinct, and with the absence of wings in the hair, it would appear that they could indeed be Seasons and not Winds.

However, we can compare this piece with two other bronze reliefs. Fig.100 is a fragment of a silvered bronze plate from Stockstadt, showing the tauroctony within an arch. Outside of the arch are busts of Sol and Luna, and beyond them, two youthful busts with one apparently with a pair of wings in his hair. Vermaseren identifies this as a Wind-god⁴⁰⁹, and it does seem as if the mouth of the figure is pursed, as if breathing wind; but since the piece is fragmentary we cannot be sure of the identification, as the position of this wind would suggest the placing of Wind-gods in all four corners of the complete plate. Fig.101 shows the unmistakable head of a Wind-god, fashioned in bronze, discovered at Angleur with two others (the fourth is lost). On the reverse side is a iron hook for hanging. They must have been used as decoration in a particularly

⁴⁰⁶ M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 162.

⁴⁰⁷ L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387:162.

⁴⁰⁸ R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Meisenheim, Anton Hain, 1984: 378; M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 161; K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 210-1.

⁴⁰⁹ *CIMRM* II: 97.

rich mithreaum, as they were found together with other bronzes representing signs of the zodiac⁴¹⁰.

Fig.102 is a double-sided relief from Dieburg which was originally mounted on a pivot. The *terminus ad quem* for the Dieburg mithraea is 260 A.D., following the destruction of the *limes* by the Germans⁴¹¹. The front shows Mithras as a horseman, accompanied by dogs; the reverse depicts the myth of Phaethon and Helios⁴¹². Four female Seasons surround Helios' throne, and four naked youths lead away his horses. In the foreground, Oceanos, Caelus and Tellus observe the proceedings. In the corners, the Winds blow down upon the scene. Here we have the two Winds at the bottom of the relief with their backs to the viewer so that they seem to be looking at the central motif; perhaps this is to signal their involvement and their connections with the other elemental deities also featured, because this is a strongly cosmological scene: four Winds, four Seasons, the four horses of Helios, which represent the four elements, and emphasised by Oceanos (Water), Caelus (Air) and Tellus (Earth). According to Ulansey, Mithraists believed in the conflagration of the earth at intervals known as 'Great Years'⁴¹³, a doomsday concept that, to their eyes, was paralleled by Phaethon's ill-fated ride through the heavens. As in the birth of Mithras scenes, the Winds stand as dispassionate observers; they also belong to the element of Air.

Another double-sided relief was discovered at Heddernheim, possibly dating to the third century (fig.103). Here the border remains static while the central scene moves around to display the tauroctony or the sacred meal. On the border, the four Winds are displayed in corner roundels, while between them are placed the Seasons and episodes from the life of Mithras. A similar, one-sided, depiction may be found at Augusta Rauricorum (fig.104), and again at Mayence in a fragment of a large-scale

⁴¹⁰ *CIMRM* I: 321-2.

⁴¹¹ *CIMRM* I: 104.

⁴¹² Phaethon was the son of Helios, who offered to grant his son a wish as a token of his affection and recognition. Phaethon asked to be allowed to drive his father's sun-chariot for the day. Helios was reluctant, but finally agreed, warning Phaethon to keep the horses in check. However, when Phaethon mounted the chariot, the horses did not recognise their driver, so ran wild. The youth was unable to stop them, and set the world aflame, disturbing all manners of monsters, gods, and constellations. Zeus, seeing the devastation and confusion, threw a thunderbolt at Phaethon and killed him.

⁴¹³ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 74-5.

tauroctony (fig.105). In the latter relief, we can clearly see the breath of the Wind-god issuing from his mouth.

Somewhat more problematic is the identification of the relief found in Rome (fig.106), which shows the lion-headed god of Time, a common addition to all mithraea. Opinion is divided on the correct name to be given to this figure, who is identified variously as Zurvan⁴¹⁴, Aeon⁴¹⁵, Cronos⁴¹⁶, Saturn⁴¹⁷, and a Gorgon-type creature representing the Order of the Universe⁴¹⁸. The identification is difficult due to the many different attributes of the god; the lion-head, the posture, the Serpent and the wings are basic, found on every example. Differences include the representations of the zodiac, multiple eyes on the body of the god, lion's heads on the stomach and/or knees, and a Cerberus-like hound that crouches at the feet of the deity. This relief shows the god standing on the world-globe; the two bands across its circumference represent the equinoxes⁴¹⁹. The deity is usually taken to be male; in this example, his genitals are hidden by the Serpent's seven coils, symbolising the seven planets and the progression of the sun through the zodiac⁴²⁰. In his left hand he holds a sceptre divided into twelve parts by a running spiral: this represents the zodiac. His right hand clasps a key to his chest, and this is identified as the key to the gateway of heaven and therefore the genesis and incarnation of the soul⁴²¹. Finally, the lion-headed god is often shown with four wings, two pointing up and two pointing down; this represents his control over the Winds, and hence the Seasons⁴²². Ulansey concludes:

The lion-headed god, therefore, embodies in one symbol the organising power of the entire cosmos...the power which Mithras...would be able to overcome and absorb⁴²³.

⁴¹⁴ Zurvan when multiple eyes appear: L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387: 354; M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 117ff.

⁴¹⁵ Aeon: L. A. Campbell, *ibid*: 348; M. J. Vermaseren, *ibid*: 118.

⁴¹⁶ Cronos: L. A. Campbell, *ibid*: 353.

⁴¹⁷ Saturn: L. A. Campbell, *ibid*: 354.

⁴¹⁸ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 30-5.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*: 47.

⁴²⁰ M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 120.

⁴²¹ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 117.

⁴²² M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 121. Sometimes the Time-God has four arms as well as, or instead of, four wings to emphasise this control.

⁴²³ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 117.

Thus we can see that the Winds again play a cosmological role, subservient to, and a part of, Time itself, which will eventually be ruled by Mithras. Once the god has arrived as *kosmokrater*, the Winds become his servants and helpers, and aid in the migration of the soul from genesis to apogenesis. These beliefs are similar to those in Orphism, which by the Roman period was almost interchangeable with Mithraism, as will be seen below.

3.2.2. Orphism.

Orphism and the cult of Orpheus is a set of beliefs thought to derive from Orphic literature; the terminology is a modern concept, although the cult seemed to thrive from the archaic Greek period onwards. It is associated with the worship of Dionysus, mixed with Pythagorean philosophy, and shares some Near Eastern and Egyptian beliefs also. It involved a high degree of asceticism, holding that evil came from the body⁴²⁴, and its followers seem to be divided into two groups - the devotees of Bacchic rites, and the Orpheotelests, an itinerant band who claimed to cure demonic possession and to cast spells for good or ill. The Orphic poems that form the basis of the extant literature are mainly theogonies, but many refer to mystery cults and initiatory rites, with an apparent especial connection with Eleusis⁴²⁵. We can see that its similarity to Mithraism is marked in its basic approach - the promise of salvation through interceding with a divine figure (Phanes) through prayer or magic spells. Further, like the later Western Mithraists, Orphists considered that the soul underwent a transmigration from a dead person to a living one, and it was this process of reanimation of the soul that the Winds assisted in. Aristotle, writes Guthrie,

ascribes to the so-called Orphic poems [the theory] that the soul 'comes into us from space as we breathe, borne by the winds'⁴²⁶.

The earliest evidence for Orphic worship may be found in the sixth century B.C., when it enjoyed a period of popularity before falling from favour; it was then revitalised during the early Roman Republic. The Orphic hymns and poems present a theogony

⁴²⁴ W. K. C. Guthrie, *supra* n.371: 156-7.

⁴²⁵ W. Burkert, *supra* n.372: 296-7.

⁴²⁶ W. K. C. Guthrie, *supra* n.371: 94.

based upon that of Hesiod, but radically altered; the central figure of Orphic worship was Phanes, identified with Eros⁴²⁷, who emerged from the Cosmic Egg as the child of Nyx, Night. She had borne the Cosmic Egg without recourse to any male element, i.e. through wind-fertilisation. Phanes was succeeded by Zeus, who was in turn succeeded by Dionysus, who alone of all gods could intercede on man's behalf with Persephone after death.

The Orphic hymns are a collection of eighty-seven short poems or songs, each addressed to a deity. They are centred upon Dionysus, and appear to be ritualistic in tone: the appropriate offering to the deity is named, then the poem opens with epithets and descriptions praising the god, closing with a prayer or wish. The hymns have been identified as coming from a Dionysiac community in Asia Minor, perhaps based in Pergamon, and have been dated to the late Hellenistic-early imperial period⁴²⁸. There are three Orphic hymns to the 'good' Hesiodic Wind-gods: Boreas, Zephyrus, and Notus, and all three are to receive an offering of frankincense - a cheap offering, suggesting that the Winds were considered as more minor deities.

Orphic Hymn 80⁴²⁹

To Boreas, frankincense as an offering.

The winter breeze moving the air of the cosmos,
Freezing-cold Boreas, carrying the snow, coming from Thrace,
Unfasten the clouds everywhere that carry the rainy wind,
Encourage the wet weather and the stormy rain;
Bring us always a clear sky, carrying fresh air
and sun-beams to shine upon the earth.

The hymn to Boreas focuses on the Hesiodic nature of the Wind: cold, violent, Thracian; yet after the winter, and when Boreas is calmer, then clear weather arrives, heralding the spring. We should note that the Presocratic idea of the wind being trapped in clouds (see below, section 4.3) is referred to here in line 3, and in the first line, the description of Boreas 'moving the air of the cosmos' could be a reference to the Cosmic Egg and the birth of Phanes (with Boreas as the primeval Wind-Serpent,

⁴²⁷ Cf. Aristophanes' *Birds* 693ff; W. K. C. Guthrie, *supra* n.371: 94.

⁴²⁸ F. Graf, "Orphic Literature", in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition OUP, 1996: 1078-9.

⁴²⁹ My translations from the Greek of G. Quandt's *Orphic Hymni*, Berlin, Weidemann, 1955.

Ophion - see below section 4.1.1), or perhaps to the generative power of the North Wind and the movement of souls, as in the Mithraic belief.

Orphic Hymn 81

To Zephyrus, frankincense as an offering.

The breezes from everywhere, the Zephyrs, walking in darkness,
sweet-breathing, whispering, bringing the relief of death,
spring-timely, of the meadows, desired as havens,
carrying ships to tender shores, light air;
Come, favourable winds, blameless of blowing strong winds,
Air-goddesses, hidden, nimble-winged, airy.

The hymn to Zephyrus is unusual in that it is addressed to the male deity, then appeals to the *Zephyritides*, or Zephyrs, who are given as feminine plural. All the adjectives in the hymn have the same feminine plural ending. Why should this be so? We could suggest that the Orphists saw Zephyrus as a very gentle, and therefore feminine, wind, with a need to divide himself in order to fulfil the many roles given to him by the hymn. Alternatively, it was imagined that the Zephyrs were more localised minor West Wind goddesses - but these may have been addressed separately as the *Aurai*, the Breezes. Perhaps we may attribute it solely to poetic license. However, in favour of the first proposal, we need only look at the epithets and adjectives applied to the Zephyrs to see that much was expected of them. The three major themes are:

1. The Zephyrs as psychopomps: 'walking in darkness', 'bringing the relief of death', and perhaps 'desired as havens'.
2. The Zephyrs as sailors' winds: 'desired as havens', 'carrying ships to tender shelter'.
3. The Zephyrs as harbingers of the Spring: 'sweet-breathing', 'spring-timely', 'of the meadows'.

This is the only Wind hymn to close without a specific prayer or request; line 5 merely says 'Come, favourable winds', before again listing appropriate adjectives. One of these, *aphaneis*, means 'the hidden' or 'invisible' in the context of death and the Underworld - another possible reference to the passage of the soul?

Orphic Hymn 82

To Notus, frankincense as an offering.

The swift movement of the air, carrying water,
Shaking through ocean wings, come here and there,
Come with south clouds, leader of rain;

Because this is from Zeus, your gift of bringing air,
 Sending clouds full of rain from the air to the earth.
 That's why we beseech you, O blessed god, grant us this gift,
 Send us the fruit-rearing rain to Mother Earth.

The hymn to Notus is a little odd as it is overwhelmingly positive. Despite being a child of Eos and Astraeus, and therefore one of Hesiod's 'good' Winds, Notus is generally perceived in a negative fashion as the wind that brings fog, heavy drizzle and squalls to the Aegean. The Orphic hymn appreciates these qualities, almost calling them heaven-sent (line 4), addressing Notus as 'blessed' in line 6. The final line has echoes of Zephyrus' role as bringer of spring and the flowers; this is modified by the idea of ripening fruit, which occurs during the summertime. This raises the question of the origin of the Orphic hymns, which would seem to be around Pergamon in the Aiolis region. To find Notus as a wind that ripens fruit, we would need to be looking for an area reliant on a southerly wind for crops, and as this area is on the western littoral of Asia Minor, it is a place affected by the southerly sirocco, which by the time it has reached the central-northern Aegean, is no longer a fierce sand-bearing stormy wind, but a damp, rainy wind⁴³⁰.

Thus we can see that the nature of the Winds in literature changes depending upon locale, and that, while some stereotypes are hard to break (Zephyrus and Boreas' epithets, whilst true, are also somewhat trite), local meteorological conditions have the final word when praying to the gods - hence Notus' favourable report in his hymn. It may have been these hymns, in particular the one addressed to Notus, that inspired Campbell's reading of a Mithraic relief from Modena that was originally dedicated as an Orphic monument (fig.107).

The central figure, Phanes, stands inside the circle of the zodiac on one half of the Cosmic Egg whence he hatched. He has cloven feet, which Vermaseren and Levi link with the god Pan⁴³¹, and a serpent coils itself about his body. The heads of a

⁴³⁰ We may also consider here the evidence from Mesopotamian myth, where the Winds are divided into 'good' winds (the Greek cardinal winds) and 'bad' winds (equivalent to the Greek Harpies and Typhon). The south wind, *sutu*, is also known as 'Ea's Breath'; Ea is the chief god of water, suggesting that the south wind in this region, like Notus, is a damp, rain-bringing wind. Likewise, the north wind, *istanu*, is pleasant and moderate, bringing clear skies, as does Boreas in the Orphic Hymn.

⁴³¹ The pun between the names is obvious. M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 124; D. Levi, *supra*

goat, lion and ram⁴³² are visible between the serpent's coils, and from Phanes' shoulders emerge the horns of a crescent moon, behind which are his wings. In his right hand he wields a thunderbolt, and in his left he holds a staff. Outside the zodiac are the heads of four Wind-gods, two bearded and two clean-shaven. They are identified by Vermaseren as (clockwise from top left): Notus, Zephyrus, Eurus, Boreas⁴³³. However, Campbell suggests a different identification: Eurus, Notus, Zephyrus, Boreas, based upon the climate of a more arid country, like southern Syria (or central Asia Minor?), making the Winds indicative of the Seasons also: thus, Eurus is Spring, Notus is Summer (which would agree with the Orphic hymn stating that Notus is the wind for ripening fruit), Zephyrus is Autumn, and Boreas remains as Winter⁴³⁴. While these identifications are interesting, they would make little sense to an Italian unless he had some especial connection with the Near East - maybe he had served there in the army. As we have stated previously, we should probably not search too long for a positive identification for these Wind-gods, but rather concentrate on why they are there - and here our Mithraic examples help us, as the Winds play the same cosmological-helper role to Phanes as they did for Mithras.

This unique piece from Modena was rededicated to Mithras after its patron, a man named Felix, reached the level of Father, the highest grade in Mithraism⁴³⁵. The name of his wife, Euphrosyne, was erased (but is still visible), as women were admitted to Orphic worship but not to the cult of Mithras. The rededication of the relief was simple, given the similarities in iconography between the two religions: the Serpent, the wings, the zodiac, the lion-head, and the Winds. Indeed, this ability of Mithraism to absorb and incorporate beliefs from other cults probably did much for its popularity and impact: this led to inscriptions such as the one at Rome that reads "Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Phanes"⁴³⁶. Finally, Ulansey links the Modena relief with Aeon,

n.381: 294.

⁴³² Vermaseren maintains that these are indicative of astrological influence (ibid), but I am unconvinced, as Leo (lion) and Aries (ram) are both fire signs, while Capricorn (goat) is earth. This would make no astrological sense, especially as the Zodiac with all its connotations already appears on the relief.

⁴³³ *CIMRM* I: 254.

⁴³⁴ L. A. Campbell, *supra* n.387: 165.

⁴³⁵ M. J. Vermaseren, *supra* n.386: 123.

⁴³⁶ *CIMRM* I: 192.

the Hellenistic god of Time, who is often shown in the centre of the zodiac wheel, turning it with one hand. Ulansey concludes that the three gods - Mithras, Phanes and Aeon - must be "inextricably linked to the concept of cosmic time"⁴³⁷ - perhaps they were, but the syncretised and secretive nature of all three cults makes it impossible to truly determine what was afoot.

3.2.3. Aeonism.

The 'cult' of Aeonism is extremely obscure, and without much solid evidence. A Hellenistic god of Time, the word initially meant 'lifetime' but when applied to the cosmic order, it became synonymous with 'eternity'. A statue of Aeon was dedicated at Eleusis in the 1st century B.C-A.D, and became associated with the power ruling the cosmos in magical papyri⁴³⁸. A festival to Aeon was instituted at Alexandria in the imperial period⁴³⁹, but despite the vague hints of mysteries, spells and incantations for rites⁴⁴⁰, it never caught on in the way that Mithraism had. Theogonies point to Aeon being the son of Colpia ('Hollow Wind') and Nyx, which suggests a syncretism with Orphic and Olympian belief, with the central figure born from Night and a shadowy Wind-god figure. Aeon was seen as "a period of time renewing itself, a duration of time repeating itself", especially in a yearly context⁴⁴¹, which meant that Aeon could be linked with fertility gods such as Osiris⁴⁴². In this capacity he was concerned with the seasons and hence the Winds, for, as Levi notes, the Winds were

considered to rule over a period of the year and to determine the climatic conditions to which a season was submitted... Aeon is involved, moreover, as god of the four winds in magical texts⁴⁴³

- this control over the Winds on the part of Aeon derives from the power invested in him by his position as ruler of the cosmos rather than for any other specific reason, and it is notable that his control is therefore similar to that of Mithras and Phanes.

⁴³⁷ D. Ulansey, *supra* n.381: 122-3.

⁴³⁸ R. Parker, "Aeon", in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *supra* n.427: 48.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ D. Levi, *supra* n.371: 309-10.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 291.

⁴⁴² The two gods are interchangeable in the *Suida*; *ibid.*: 309.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*: 296.

The mosaic from a villa at Philippopolis-Chahba in Syria (fig.108) dates to the third century A.D., and shows Aeon in a setting which is very much indicative of fecundity. Across the top of the mosaic are the Winds (left to right): Notus, Eurus, Zephyrus, Boreas. Their names are inscribed, and they are depicted as heads in profile, blowing wind towards the centre of the mosaic. Between Eurus and Zephyrus are two putti, identified by an inscription as the Drosai, or Dew, an unique representation. They pour rain-drops down upon the assembled gods below, and are clearly to be associated with the Winds who cause climatic change and who bring rain. Below, we see Prometheus making a human figure while Pandora looks on, beside Hermes and Psyche, Triptolemus and Georgia (goddess of the fields). Before them is Demeter-Gaia, attended by the four Carpoi (fruits), who present her with a plate of food. Aeon presides over it all, holding the cosmic wheel (or zodiac) in his right hand. Behind him stand the Tropai, who symbolise the Seasons⁴⁴⁴. This mosaic, with its multiple deities of the fertility of the earth, suggests a return to the Hellenistic view of Aeon as representative of a single period of time (the agricultural year) continually renewing itself. Thus we have the Winds who bring the Seasons, themselves represented by the Tropai, while Aeon controls all with the cosmic wheel. There is also the suggestion of human fertility, or at least, of the passage of the soul, seen by the addition of Prometheus and his mannikin, and Psyche with Hermes, who is both fertility god and psychopomp.

So what can we learn about the role of the Winds in mystery cults? With few texts and a bewildering iconography, we know precious little, but we can conclude that in the three cults that we have examined, their main role was cosmological - they represent the immutable stability of the universe that does not and will not change, an imposition of order upon the chaos that came before the nascence of the divine figure, yet they move time forwards, and thus they embody the sense of continuous (and yet static) motion. The god - Mithras, Phanes or Aeon - represents a change from the old ways and offers salvation to his followers, and he is aided in his task to overcome the

⁴⁴⁴ The word *tropai* ('turnings') usually refers to the solstices (i.e Summer and Winter), but in this context I would suggest adding the equinoxes, as they fall in the Spring and Autumn, which would give us all four seasons.

evil of the world by his helpers - Cautes and Cautopates, the Serpent, the Tropai, and the Winds-Seasons. They recognise the divinity and seem to be subservient to him, although they are technically more ancient than he. Their ultimate purpose is to continue time: they help the god to turn the wheel of the zodiac/cosmos, and represent the turning of the seasons which are also fixed within the year's cycle, and they can also preserve the human race by carrying the souls as they migrate from genesis to apogenesis. As long as the Winds blow, so shall the seasons and years pass; this concept of fertility-eternity is simple to understand and, as such, is an appealing idea. The place of the Winds in the greater scheme of things is, therefore, vital.

3.3. The Winds and Magic.

The practice of magic was widespread in antiquity, often seen as an addition to the usual prayers and sacrifices to the gods if extra help was required with an issue, such as conceiving a child, attracting a partner, or warding off an illness. To this may be added more mundane, yet no less important, concerns that would affect the livelihood of the *oikos*: ensuring that the crops grew well each year, and to bring the correct weather conditions for the crops to flourish. Magic was probably practised in the earliest periods of prehistory, based upon the belief of the spirits of the dead, and it continued into the Bronze Age as a cult of the departed spirits merged with a wind-cult, as we will see below. Homeric literature makes reference to magical practices, such as the healing of Odysseus' wound by the means of an incantation at *Odyssey* XIX.457. By the Classical era, it would seem that magic was being ousted as scientific thought gained a foothold in the public perception, yet it was never entirely relegated to the sidelines. Greek and Roman official religion may have had no time for magicians, but it was accepted and even integrated into the official cults for ritual purposes, such as weather-magic, purification, and fertility. The survival of magic in this capacity was often in a form of lucky or unlucky charms, such as the 'evil eye', or knots (the Flamen Dialis was not allowed to wear knots about his person as magic could be trapped within them and thus bring harm to his person and the ceremonies he performed), and the flayed skin wielded at the Lupercalia was believed to remove sterility for a woman if it touched her.

The presentation in literature of two of the most famous witches of antiquity, Circe and her niece Medea, is ambiguous if not hostile. Roman witches fare no better, with gruesome detail added to their tales of unmanning helpless travellers for their nefarious purposes, while others are shape-shifters so that they may slake their lust for the handsome young men of the city under cover of night. It is important that the magicians most often vilified are female - witches rather than warlocks - and like the witches of the Middle Ages, accused of having truck with the Devil, the witches of antiquity were suspected of being in league with the more dread goddesses of the Underworld, especially Hecate. Here again is the fear that these women have a power that can threaten men: it is no surprise that both Circe and Medea are portrayed as beautiful women, and yet they are both enslaved by a man - Odysseus and Jason, respectively. But while Circe recognises that she has been outmanoeuvred by the gods, who told Odysseus how to combat her magic, and quite happily gives him her help, Medea is not so fortunate in her love-affair with Jason, and is abandoned. Her revenge is brutal and unbecoming for a woman and for a mother when she kills her children as she previously killed her brother in order that she and Jason could escape Colcis with the golden fleece. Both women boast control of the weather in addition to their other powers. Circe is a goddess herself, daughter of Helios and Perse, grand-daughter to Oceanus, so in her divine blood runs the power of both the sky and the sea. She conjures a favourable wind for Odysseus to send him on his way to consult with Tiresias in the Underworld (*Odyssey* X.507; XI.5ff), while Medea addresses all the elements in her spell to restore Jason's aged father Aeson to youth:

O Earth, the source of the magician's powerful herbs: you too, breezes and winds, mountains, rivers and lakes, all spirits of the groves and of the night, be present! By your help I can at will turn rivers to run backwards to their source, between their astonished banks, I can soothe the stormy seas... dispel or bring up the clouds, summon or dismiss the winds...⁴⁴⁵

Other women suspected of witchcraft were stepmothers, who in ancient literature are often cruel, greedy for their children to be seen as the heirs rather than the offspring of their predecessor. Virgil writes in his *Georgics* III.273ff of a substance called 'horse

⁴⁴⁵ Ovid, *Met.* VII.180ff.

madness', excreted by mares in heat, which is gathered by stepmothers to mix with herbs in the conjuring of 'baleful spells'.

The most evidence we have of magical practises comes from the Greek magical papyri discovered in Egypt. Despite being of late Hellenistic-Graeco-Roman date, there are many references to the Classical Greek gods, to Hebrew, Egyptian, Babylonian and even Christian texts and beliefs. Such magical texts, common in antiquity, were destroyed by the Christians (Acts XIX.10) or by others who wished to stamp out superstition - Augustus ordered the burning of two thousand magical scrolls in 13 B.C.⁴⁴⁶ - but the suppression never quite worked, merely driving the practitioners underground. Many of the spells themselves warn the user to keep them a secret, but such a systematic destruction put an end to the majority of magical texts. A handful survive, concerned in the main with love charms and curses, spells for bringing dream-oracles, or to summon a *daimon*. The Winds feature several times in these spells as part of a cosmological order, as in these spells to ensure favour and foreknowledge, directed to Helios:

"Come to me from the four Winds of the world, air-transversing, great god. Hear me in every ritual which [I perform], and grant all the [petitions] of my prayer completely..."⁴⁴⁷

"Lord, if you [wish me to know in advance], let the falcon [descend] onto the tree." If it does not happen, also speak this formula to the four Winds while you turn around [toward] the wind. Whenever you say the formula, also say to Helios the great name..."⁴⁴⁸

The logic here is that if Helios does not listen to your spell, even though as sun-god he is supposed to be all-seeing, then the Winds will deliver the message to him. This kind of spell is likely to be a relic of ancient Egyptian magic, as the Sun-god Re controlled Shu, the Winds, and the falcon was symbolic of Re-Harakhti, the Sun-god-as-a-falcon. Other spells cast the Winds as servants of *daimones*:

It is acknowledged that [the *daimon*] is a god; he is an aerial spirit which you have seen. If you give him a command, straight away he performs the task: he sends dreams, he brings women, men without the

⁴⁴⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31.1.

⁴⁴⁷ "Spell to establish a relationship with Helios", *PGM* III.494ff, in H. D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago University Press, 1986: 31.

⁴⁴⁸ "Foreknowledge charm", *PGM* III.272ff; *ibid*: 26.

use of magical material, he kills, he destroys, he stirs up winds from the earth...⁴⁴⁹

Did people believe in these spells? Magicians in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman east were often attached to temples as priests, which would lend some credence to their practices, but more often than not, people sought to cast charms and spells in the same way that they appealed to the oracles: they wanted to believe that they had some influence on their future, their partner, their health, or the weather. Undoubtedly many magicians were cranks, akin to the 'Aeolus' figures on the quayside selling their bags of winds (see below 4.2), or trapping them by tying knots in skeins of thread, but they must have known that weather-magic especially would be less difficult to predict or control, particularly if they had some knowledge of meteorology. Weather-magic, like the rites of the cults of the Winds, were based partly on common-sense, and partly on sacrifice and prayer, just in case.

3.4. The Winds and Death.

From the most ancient times, it seems to have been accepted that the wind was somehow linked with the passage of souls from this life into the next, and back again. We have already seen above how the use of Porphyry's philosophy was employed by the followers of Mithras, so that the winds were psychopomps bringing the souls to their genesis and apogenesis. This same concept was at large in the Athenian cult of the Tritopatores, which may best be described as 'ghosts', wind-borne spirits of remote ancestors who were interpreted as "winds and sources of birth"⁴⁵⁰. The fear that, after death, there is no longer an existence, is a common one in many cultures, and the Greeks were no exception. In Plato's *Phaedo*, Cebes and Socrates discuss this very issue, with Cebes saying:

...in regard to the soul, men are very prone to disbelief. They fear that when the soul leaves the body it no longer exists anywhere, and that on the day when the man dies it is destroyed and perishes, and when it

⁴⁴⁹ "The spell of Pnouthis, the sacred scribe, for acquiring an assistant *daimon*", *PGM* I.96ff; *ibid*: 5. Unfortunately, I must report that the spell does not work; although this may have been due to the trouble in acquiring the right eyeball of a corpse that had died a violent death...

⁴⁵⁰ Hesychius, s.v. *Tritopatores*.

leaves the body and departs from it, straightaway it flies away and is no longer anywhere, scattering like breath or smoke⁴⁵¹.

This fear naturally manifested itself sometime in the distant past, perhaps the Bronze or Iron Age, in the form of ancestor-worship. The Tritopatores became more than just a cult of the dead; they were given names - one of the three was called Amalceides⁴⁵² - and they were sometimes identified with the three Hecatoncheires, the 'hundred-handed giants', sons of Uranus and Gaia⁴⁵³. Their blessing was called upon during marriage-ceremonies, to make the union fruitful: this corresponds with the genesis of souls, here believed to pass into the new-born child and give it life. We may compare this with Clemens' discussion of the Macedonian practice of wind-worship:

The Macedonian priests in their formal prayers called upon *Bedu*, which is their term for Air/Wind, to be propitious to themselves and their children⁴⁵⁴.

We may also consider the evidence of Lucian's spoof travelogue *A True Story* I.22 (see below 4.5) where he talks of the newly-born Moonites as being given the 'breath of life' by the wind. The link between winds and birth is thus twofold: they are considered to be agents of fertilisation (section 4.5), and also in their role as psychopomps, they are carriers and deliverers of the soul from and to its human shell. This association led Rohde to write that:

It is not hard to understand the connexion between souls and wind-spirits; it is merely that such conceptions were rare among the Greeks and for that reason these isolated wind-spirits were turned into individual *daimones* - the Tritopatores no less than the Harpies⁴⁵⁵.

These wind-spirit-*daimones* were to continue being worshipped while the Winds proper were to tread a different path: from the ancient beliefs of the Winds as fertility agents and bearers of the soul came the more widespread and popular notions of the Winds (and not wind-spirits related to a cult of the dead) as psychopomps and agents of apotheosis. This applied to both the classical Greek world and particularly to the

⁴⁵¹ Plato, *Phaedo* 70a.

⁴⁵² Orphic frg. 240Ab; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, London, Kegan Paul, 1925: 204, n.124.

⁴⁵³ Hesychius, s.v. *Tritopatores*.

⁴⁵⁴ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 673.

⁴⁵⁵ E. Rohde, *supra* n.451.

Romans. In Greek literature, the west wind is often cited as the carrier of souls to rest on the Isles of the Blessed (*Odyssey* IV.567; the epigram on the grave stele of Regilla, wife to Herodas Atticus⁴⁵⁶), while in Roman works, the Winds act in place of Hypnos and Thanatos when carrying off the corpse of Memnon in Quintus of Smyrna's *Fall of Troy* II.549, a vast whirlwind carries souls along to the Underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid* VI.740, and Proclus argued that the summoning of the Winds to Patroklos' funeral pyre was not to fan the flames, but to revivify his departed soul⁴⁵⁷. The Winds are even seen as psychopomps in the Old Testament, acting as messengers of Yahweh (Psalms CIV.3-4)⁴⁵⁸.

We have much iconographic evidence of the Winds' role as psychopomps as they often appear on grave reliefs and sarcophagi, especially of the Roman period. Our first example is a grave relief from Cyzicus (fig.109), showing Zephyrus (name inscribed) to the left of the Three Graces, blowing into a trumpet, while to the far right a second Wind-god (name lost) holds a torch. The playing of trumpets, particularly made from conch-shells, can be traced back to Plutarch, who reported that horn-playing by a deity such as Tritons or Winds was meant to symbolise the celestial realms⁴⁵⁹. The torch held by the other Wind-god may serve to light the way into the Underworld, or perhaps is a reference, along with the presence of the Graces, to the marriage-ceremony; maybe the deceased was a young bride, or a maiden who had not yet married before her death.

The Winds appear upon the main scenes of sarcophagi as part of the cosmological order, usually when the relief has some specific relevance to the cosmos as in the myth of Phaethon (figs.110-111). We have already seen the use of this myth in Mithraism (fig.102 and discussion above), and again in fig.110 we see the Winds portrayed as the four horses of Helios. In fig.111, however, we have but one lone Wind-god, peeping over the action of the central scene and blowing a conch-shell. It is unsurprising that the Winds as part of a cosmic order should appear on sarcophagi, not

⁴⁵⁶ G. Kaibel, *Epigrams*, Berlin 1878: 1949.V.21.

⁴⁵⁷ Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I.152.

⁴⁵⁸ F. Cumont, "Les vents et les anges psychopompes", in G. Pisciculi, *Franz Joseph Dölger dargeboten*, Munster, 1939: 70-75.

⁴⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* IX.14.6; see also F. Cumont, *supra* n.370: 149. It could also be a continuation of the Late Minoan cult-practice; see above, 3.1.i.

just because of their abilities as psychopomps and carriers of the soul, but also because they stand for part of the immutability of the universe, the promise that things will remain unchanged, and so the soul will always be able to pass onwards in its journey to the Underworld.

Such a belief may be seen on fig.112, the sketch of two Wind-god heads painted upon the lid of a two-year-old child's sarcophagus formerly in ^{the} Latran. Here the epitaph serves as a commentary to the image: "The Fates abducted her into the air according to the sentence that they had pronounced"⁴⁶⁰. King notes that sarcophagi decoration for children was the same as for adults, particularly from the imperial period, but that there was no specific rule for what went on the coffin, as it depended upon the individual (cost, fashion, tradition and affection)⁴⁶¹. Here we may see the stoic acceptance of the child's fate, with perhaps the suggestion of the belief in the rebirth of the soul by the specific wording of the epitaph: "abducted into the air", which would agree with the presence of the Wind-gods. This would also explain why there are so many heads of Wind-gods that adorn the acroteria of the sarcophagi lids; they are usually represented as bearded and snarling faces with wings in their hair, occasionally clean-shaven, and sometimes with pointed ears or horns as well as wings (figs.113-114). Cumont notes their appearance as episodic and for purposes of accessory⁴⁶², disregarding those who believe that the heads represent some kind of Dionysiac imagery⁴⁶³. The pointed ears do give the Wind-gods a touch of savagery that would not be amiss with a satyr, but satyrs never have wings in their hair, and so we must concur with Cumont.

Etruscan sarcophagi occasionally show a slightly different image of the Wind-gods, depicting them as winged and serpent-tailed deities on one or two sides of the coffin (fig.115)⁴⁶⁴. His identification as a Wind-god is made certain by the presence of

⁴⁶⁰ F. Cumont, *supra* n.370: 170.

⁴⁶¹ M. King, *The Behavioural and Emotional Reaction of the Romans to Infant Mortality*, Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh 1997: 145-50.

⁴⁶² F. Cumont, *supra* n.370. Although they could *perhaps* be seen in the same light as gargoyles on medieval cathedrals, which are chased out of the house of God. Winds on sarcophagi acroteria could possibly represent the flight of the soul, or *pneuma* ('breath of life') as it rejoins the winds of the heavens.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. the eighth century B.C. limestone coffin from Chiusi, Boston Museum of Fine Art, 13.2901/13.2860.

a conch-shell trumpet which he holds in his left hand, across his body. This recalls the serpent-tailed Typhon and Boreas, suggesting that the Wind-gods are the children of the earth. According to the Presocratics (see 4.3 below), the Winds were born from the earth and to the earth they return, to live deep in caves (such as those on Aeolia) or the Underworld, until they are called forth again; the parallel with the soul's journey from the earth (burial) to the heavens (apogenesis) is striking, and cannot be merely fortuitous. A similar image may be seen at fig.116, which depicts a youthful Wind-god blowing into a conch-shell beside Oceanus, who is surrounded by water and holds a full cornucopia. Again, both figures from this Endymion sarcophagus can be read as symbolic of the cosmic order, especially as it is Oceanus that surrounds the known world; but it may also be taken as a reference to fertility-rebirth (the cornucopia), which needs water (Oceanus) and the Wind as either the carrier of the soul, or as the harbinger of the spring season.

Now we turn to look at a few Roman grave stelai featuring the Winds. As before, all of them use the Winds in either a cosmological role, as psychopomps, or as both. Fig.117 shows a crudely-executed stele from Carnuntum, the area we have previously described as an important centre of Pannonian Mithraism. The soldiers of the Legio XV Apollinaris were returned to Carnuntum by their general Vespasian in 71 A.D., and this stele dates from around that time. The worship of Mithras may well have been brought back by this legion, and certainly the iconography of the stele suggests more than a passing knowledge of the religion: the sun and moon as relief-acroteria, the large face of Sol-Helios within the pediment, the circle in the centre of the stele (usually the location of the tauroctony), surrounded by the four busts of Wind-gods who blow upon the laurel wreath circle. Within this flies an eagle, symbol of both the Legions and of Zeus; it also carries the souls of the departed to the sun⁴⁶⁵. This is without a doubt a Mithraic-influenced stele, as is perhaps fitting for a soldier who ended his days in Carnuntum.

Certainly the other stelai conform more or less to type. Fig.118, from Walbersdorf, shows the soldier and his wife in a niche, two Wind-gods blowing air onto them from above, while Tritons blow their horns accompanied by dolphins, and

⁴⁶⁵ F. Cumont, *supra* n.370: 154.

two lions face each other in the pediment. Below the depiction of the deceased is a plaque showing the soldier attacking his enemies, who fall to the ground; behind him flies an eagle. Here the Winds are psychopompic, while the Tritons and their trumpets invoke the heavens, and the dolphins perhaps suggest the journey to the Isles of the Blessed⁴⁶⁶. On fig.119, from Aquincum, we see the bust of the deceased accompanied by two Wind-gods, plus the face of the Medusa above in the pediment, two dolphins writhing on the acroteria, and a plaque depicting a squire and a horse to show what position the man occupied in life. Again, the iconography is easy to read, and is almost a standard image by now, as we may see with fig.120. The vegetation often shown on sarcophagi is portrayed in profusion on this cinerary urn from Rome, while the deceased is placed in a shell. Above the inscription are the heads of two Wind-gods separated by a spread eagle. Once more, the Winds play the role of both psychopomps and as agents of fertility.

However, there are some sarcophagi that show the Winds in another light, and not only as psychopomps and guardians of the cosmic order, but these are rare. A fragmentary relief of a sarcophagus from Rome in the British Museum (GR.1896.6-19.3)⁴⁶⁷ shows three fishermen pulling ashore a corpse caught in a fishing-net. Two of the men touch their hands to their heads in gestures of grief, while the third man seemingly gives orders to move the body. Behind them in the sky is the head of a Wind-god, blowing the conch-shell. While we may see his presence as merely indicative of the heavens and the afterlife, we may also read this image another way; such decoration on a sarcophagus is not usual, which would suggest that this piece was specially commissioned, perhaps for a victim of accidental drowning whilst at sea in his fishing-boat. If this is the case, then the Wind-god in the background takes on a more sinister aspect to our eyes: he is the cause of the storm, and thus of the man's untimely death. Such a dichotomy, that the Winds could be both the cause of death and the bringer of life through their nature as psychopomps, can also be seen in fig.121, a Late Antique sarcophagus that shows the Biblical tale of Jonah and the whale. The monstrous sea-creature, here depicted in the form of a double-tailed

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid: 156.

⁴⁶⁷ S. Walker, *Catalogue of Roman Sarcophagi in the British Museum*, London, British Museum Press, 1990: 20-1, no.12 (pl.4).

dragon, menaces the ship as a storm rages above, symbolised by two Wind-gods blowing trumpets, and while the sea boils beneath. On board the ship, the crew are making ready to cast Jonah overboard to appease the monster and the storm. To the left stands a large figure dressed in shepherd's clothing who watches the scene, a dog at his feet and a lamb over his shoulders; this must represent Christ. To see pagan iconography on a Christian burial is not uncommon, and elemental deities such as the Winds are ideal, for, as we have seen above, they are accepted as 'angels' doing the Lord's work rather than as pagan *daimones*. We also know that, in this case at least, they are not agents of death but of deliverance, for Jonah must undergo his trial with the whale before he is accepted into God's favour. To find such a scene upon a sarcophagus may suggest that death is also a trial which must be undergone before the Christian will be called at the Day of Judgement.

Finally, the Winds were seen by the Romans as agents of apotheosis, the belief that mortal heroes or emperors were carried to heaven to receive their immortality. This was especially popular in the later imperial times, when the cult of the deified emperors was firmly entrenched even while the emperor still lived. Fig.122 shows one such way that an apotheosis was portrayed: Antoninus and his wife Faustina ride on the back of the winged Aeon, god of time, who clutches a snake, symbol of eternity, assisted by two eagles. Below are the seated figures of the *Campus Martius*, holding an obelisk (left), and the goddess Roma (right). It is important to note that this event is so significant that the ascension of the *divi* must subordinate even the goddess Roma herself⁴⁶⁸. When Hellenistic gods like Aeon were considered unsuitable for the apotheosis, the Winds were substituted instead. On fig.123 we see the apotheosis of Hercules from a grave-relief at Igel, showing the hero within the circle of the zodiac, galloping in his chariot to Olympus where Athena awaits him. In the four corners of the stele, outside the zodiac, four Winds blow upon the central image, while the borders show scenes from the life of Hercules. Once again, just like the Carnuntum stele (fig.117), the resemblance of this monument to those of Mithraic reliefs is striking: the four Winds, the wheel of the zodiac, the hero ascending to the heavens, and his life-story told in panels surrounding the centre (compare with fig.95). But here

⁴⁶⁸ R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art*, London, the Warburg Institute, 1939: 89-90.

the deceased, or his family, chose not the famous mystery-god of the east to represent his passing, but instead preferred the classical hero Hercules, perhaps because of his legendary prowess in combat, or because he is seen as a paradigm of the mortal who earns immortality through his deeds. The owner of this stele may have been a soldier, or died in battle, which is possible given the location of this monument on the Germanic *limes*. Our last image is that of an imperial apotheosis on an ivory diptych (fig.124), showing the funeral procession, with the emperor's *imago* on a *quadriga* drawn by elephants, then the soul of the emperor taking flight in Helios' chariot accompanied by eagles, before being carried to heaven by two Wind-gods to join his ancestors, who are ready to greet him. There have been problems regarding the dating of this object, which artistically belongs to the late fourth or fifth centuries A.D., but the emperor depicted on the item is clearly not a contemporary figure but someone historical - notice the arrangement of his toga, hair and beard. While some have suggested the emperor Julian the Apostate as a possible identification, it seems more likely that the emperor is Antoninus Pius. This is because the top of the zodiac on the diptych points to Libra, in whose month fell the birthday and festival-day of Antoninus Pius. Further, the monogram has been interpreted to read *Symmachorum*, which would suggest that it was made for the pagan opposition family, the Symmachi. Therefore it would seem that the diptych was commissioned to celebrate the third centenary of the birth of Antoninus Pius in 386 A.D.⁴⁶⁹.

Thus we end our brief examination of the role of Winds in death, which may be summarised as follows: the Winds were originally worshipped as part of an ancestor cult of the departed spirits, the Tritopatores, which were seen as both carriers of the soul and as agents of fertility. Either from, or alongside, this belief came the notion that Winds were psychopomps that could also grant the gift of life as well as taking it away. Such a concept was recorded in both literature and in art, particularly during the Roman period upon sarcophagi, where the Winds would play a further part in representing the cosmic order and the stability of the four-square. These beliefs were to remain in circulation until the collapse of the Roman empire and the triumph of

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid: 90-1.

Christianity, although as we have seen with fig.121, the Christians were not averse to using pagan symbolism for their own ends.

In conclusion, we may trace the pattern that joins the three strands of cult, magic and death. In cult, it is primarily the wind as a physical force that must be appeased or roused by offerings and prayers; in the earliest rites, these offerings were made through the use of bothroi, suggesting that the ancients saw the Winds as earth-born, chthonic deities, perhaps influenced by popular belief (Homeric tales such as Aeolia) or by Presocratic philosophy. Magical arts link in with early cultic practices, concerned with the control of the wind and therefore the weather. The most likely customers for magicians would be farmers wishing to ensure a good harvest, or merchants/sailors hoping for fair sailing and a prosperous voyage. The difference between cult and magic is one of 'official' recognition: the village or *polis* sanctioned public temples or altars, and offerings were made not only by individuals, but also (as is the case at Titane and Crete) by a special priest/ess on behalf of the town, at a specific time of the year, perhaps meltemi season. Magicians, as we have seen, were not always encouraged; despite the lack of recognition, their arts flourished, as there would always be individuals who, to make doubly sure of an outcome, would sacrifice to an 'official' deity then purchase a spell or charm for added protection.

Mystery cults took the concept of the physical winds to a more esoteric, cosmological level, placing them at the four corners of the universe where they represented immutability yet moved time forwards by the advance of the seasons. They fulfilled the roles of fertility-eternity, and by the followers of the mystery cults, it was expected that they would always be there. This is slightly different to the way that the non-initiated perceived things: doubtless the ancients knew that the wind was unlikely to stop blowing, but sacrifices and prayers were offered to ensure this continuation, thus revealing the difference between mysteries and other cults. An initiate in a mystery implicitly trusts that the world will keep turning and all things will remain the same because of their faith in their saviour-god - Mithras, Phanes, Aeon. The average 'man on the street' may not be so sure, and so is more likely to protect himself from potential disasters by relying upon spells in addition to sacrifices.

Finally, the belief of fertility-eternity was not limited to mystery cults; it was also current in the imagery of death. Certainly we may look to some of the mysteries, particularly Mithraism, for the use of such symbolism, but it may also be due to Socratic/Platonic philosophy on the immortality of the soul. Here we may see that the original concept of the wind as a physical force has been abandoned in favour of what the wind could represent in philosophical terms: a carrier of souls. This may, of course, be linked with the idea that the winds can carry other things like clouds and birds, but the emphasis is less on the actualities of the natural phenomenon and more on the religious/philosophical consequences. In order to understand how this shift in perception came to be, we shall now examine the extant literary records for evidence of the selfsame change.

4.0 The Winds in Ancient Literature.

...let me tell you about winds. There is a whirlwind from Southern Morocco, the *Aajej*, against which the fellahin defend themselves with knives. And there is the *Ghibli* from Tunis which rolls and rolls and rolls and produces a rather strange nervous condition... and then there's the *Harmatton*, a red wind which mariners call the sea of blood. Red sand from this wind has flown as far as the south coast of England apparently producing showers so dense they were mistaken for blood... Herodotus...writes about a wind, the *Simoom*, which a nation thought was so evil they declared war on it and marched out against it in full battle dress.

- Almásy's speech in Anthony Minghella's screenplay of *The English Patient*.

What we have seen in the iconography chapters can also be seen in literature: the place of the Winds in ancient Greek and Roman literature is both vast and varied in range, indicating the flexibility of nature deities in the Hellenised world. The Olympian Pantheon were by their very nature multifaceted gods, with, for example, the god Hermes being responsible for fertility, luck, theft, commerce, divination, roads, messengers, and the dead; those gods considered as minor deities like the Winds had a more specific role to play in the Greek cosmos, with fewer myths attached to their names, yet they too played a multifaceted role. In the literary sources, the Winds are seen as actual deities to be pacified by offerings, harbingers of good or bad weather, causes of medical illness, the originators of the universe, the bearers of the Soul, metaphors for the passions, and pure elemental and meteorological forces. This chapter will look at the various and changing aspects of the Winds in literature from the archaic Greek period through to the late Roman period, and the material will be dealt with both chronologically and according to type:

- (1) mythological;
- (2) cosmological;
- (3) philosophical;
- (4) agricultural;
- (5) navigational;
- (6) medical;
- (7) locutions.

Due to the extremely large corpus of material, a selection has been made to show the

most important points available, and, as before, we shall pass through each of the categories to enable us to see the wider picture. Appendix 3 shows a list of all references in the ancient literature to Wind-gods and to meteorological winds.

The cause of the weather was taken very seriously in ancient times, being a force of nature that was beyond human control save for attempts to influence its path and ferocity by magic, prayers and offerings. Men of a philosophical bent, beginning with the Presocratics, attempted to explain the weather in all its variables by the constant flux of the elements that they believed constituted the universe, in particular, air, water, fire and aether. Aristotle was the first of the second generation to suggest any serious causes for the inception of the weather, and his works *De Meteorologica* and *Problems* were followed by later philosophers; Theophrastus challenged some of his ideas and brought some new learning to bear on the issue. Theophrastus was used as the definitive source by Epicurus and Posidonius of Rhodes, as well as the later meteorologists of Syria and Arabia⁴⁷⁰. Passing into the Roman period, the second book of Pliny's *Natural History* addresses in some detail the question of the weather and winds; as his sources, he mentions only Aristotle as an authority on this subject despite the output of a great many Roman writers, including Seneca, who used Theophrastus as his primary source.

Meteorology affects two areas important to antiquity: shipping and farming. In this section, meteorology as a philosophical science will be examined, before an analysis of how great a role the winds played in these areas of the ancient world. It was the opinion of the physicians of the time that the weather had a direct influence on the well-being of a patient. Hippocrates was the greatest advocate of this belief, and he was followed (more cautiously, perhaps) by Aristotle, Theophrastus and Vitruvius, before it became a widespread doctrine in the medieval period. Finally, the wind was used often in locution, not just as metaphors and similes, but also in proverbs, sayings, fables and panegyric, and this final section shall examine some of the best examples available from the extant literature.

⁴⁷⁰ V. Coutant and V. L. Eichenlaub (eds.), *Theophrastus: De Ventis*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1975: xii.

4.1. Mythology.

We have already seen in the Introduction what part myth played in the lives of the ancients, and if we take its primary functions to be didactic, aetiological and explanatory, then this will help us to understand the variant myths that feature the Winds as either key players or secondary characters. The mythology of the Winds tends to focus on the two most powerful of the directional winds, the North (Boreas) and the West (Zephyrus). They are the only two Winds to have a well-developed mythology in addition to a strong iconographic record. Both Boreas and Zephyrus have one major myth surrounded by several more minor tales, yet these central stories are not amongst the earliest accounts of the Wind-gods that we have extant. How myths were developed over time, and how elements were integrated from one version of a tale to another, are questions to be considered in the context of their individual time periods and of their target audience. The literary corpus that discusses the Winds is huge, so, as with the artistic record, certain passages have been selected as being the most indicative of the nature of the Winds in mythology. Some of what follows may seem particularly dense or complex at times due to the collation of sources, so it may be helpful to refer to the genealogical tables often. Looking at the evidence from our sources, it can be seen that specific themes appear time and again, and it may be helpful for us to consider the literature in these terms in order to gain a well-rounded picture of the presentation of the Winds by ancient authors. There are several of these themes:

- (i) origins;
- (ii) love, desire, sex, and sexual violence;
- (iii) battles, fighting and martial violence;
- (iv) horses;
- (v) religious rituals;
- (vi) the re-telling of a myth, or a myth within a myth (this is peculiar to Lucian).

Violence is a strong motif in the two categories that include the most information on Wind mythology, but we should not be surprised by this, as it is a reflection in mythological literature on the strength and force of the meteorological winds. Horses are closely linked to battles, and again, this should come as no surprise

when dealing with the ancient world, where the charioteers and cavalry occupied an important place both on the battlefield and in social prestige. The link is so close between these two themes that they will at times be grouped together in the following discussion.

(i) Origins.

The earliest extant mention of the origin of the Winds in literature comes from Hesiod's *Theogony*, where at 1.378ff he names Boreas, Zephyrus and Notus as the children of Astraeus ('Starry Sky') and Eos, the dawn⁴⁷¹. Their siblings are Eosphorus (Lucifer, the Morning Star), and the stars of the night sky. At 1.869ff, Eurys and the 'bad' winds "rage with evil gusts; they blow at different times, scattering ships and drowning sailors", and these winds are reported to have been the offspring, or emission, of the dying serpent-tailed giant Typhon, who was crushed to death beneath Mount Etna by Zeus.

The personified forces of Hesiod's *Theogony* were later reflected upon by the Presocratics and by Aristotle, who believed that earthquakes were caused by 'bad wind' trapped in the bowels of the earth, a kind of earthly flatulence⁴⁷², which would also agree with the analogy of Typhon, lord of Tartarus, who rules a region described by Hesiod as:

a vast chasm, whose floor a man would not reach in a whole year if once he got inside the gates, but stormwind upon terrible stormwind would carry him hither and thither⁴⁷³.

Winds were also considered to have their origin in the heavens, which is very close to the meteorological truth: Aristotle, in his *Problems* XXVI.12-13 addresses the cause of the southerly winds and the Etesians (meltemi) as being related to the rising of the Dog-Star, Sirius - the change in atmosphere following the rising of this star prompts the cold Etesians to blow in opposition to the hot southerlies.

While we shall examine Presocratic philosophy in a following section, many of the philosophers explained their beliefs in mythological terms rather than the scientific,

⁴⁷¹ This is repeated with much less detail by Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Biblio.* I.2.4.

⁴⁷² Aristotle, *Met.* II.8.366b.

⁴⁷³ Hesiod, *Theogony* 1.739ff.

particularly the cosmologists such as Pherecydes of Samos, who wrote the first prose theogony (which has been given many titles: *Heptamychos*, *Theokrasia*, *Theogonia*). In this work, he comments on the realms of Tartarus, stating that:

its guardians are the daughters of Boreas, the Harpies and the Storm-Wind (Whirlwind)⁴⁷⁴.

In Hesiodic lore, the Harpies are named as Aeollo and Ocypete, children of Electra and Thaumias, and sisters to Iris⁴⁷⁵, and they are thus second cousins to the Winds (see genealogical table 1), rather than the direct offspring of one Wind. Whirlwind is also attributed by Hesiod to the death of Typhon (l.869ff), but it exists independently within Tartarus (l.739ff). Pherecydes' allegory of creation begins with the marriage of Zas (Zeus) and Chthonia (Gaia) in the presence of Cronos. Zas becomes Eros to unite the warring elements, thus creating the Titans, who are led by the serpent Ophion. Zas defeats the Titans and banishes them to Tartarus. In Pherecydes, Boreas may be an incarnation of Ophion, who in Pelasgian myth came into being when the goddess Eurynome (Chaos) danced, thus creating a wind with her movement. This wind-serpent was banished to the Underworld in both Pherecydes and in Pelasgian myth, which may account for the linking of Tartarean winds with Boreas. The introduction of Homeric elements - the equation of the Harpies with the Storm-Winds (compare *Iliad* VI.346; *Odyssey* I.241 and XX.61-82) and their relationship to the Winds (compare *Iliad* XVI.148-157) - is interesting, if indeed Pherecydes was using Homer. The simplest allegorical explanation for these links is to consider that Storm-Winds/Harpies and Whirlwinds always occur during periods of excessive meteorological violence, and the one wind most responsible for such violence is Boreas, the North Wind - therefore he is their 'father' in the most literal sense.

The origin of the Winds after the theogonies of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. became a subject for scientific discussion by the Presocratic philosophers rather than cosmologists, and so we find only passing references in mythology to their inception. The only extant Roman author to attempt to construct a

⁴⁷⁴ Pherecydes of Samos, in K. Freeman, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1946: 36ff.

⁴⁷⁵ Hesiod, *Theogony* l.265ff.

cosmology was Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses* I.61ff, as part of his grand design for the book on various myths. He describes how 'God' assigns to each Wind a separate area of the world, to stop them from squabbling amongst themselves; there is a poetic description of the compass points 'ruled' by the four Winds, then later, at I.262ff, Zeus punishes the people of the earth by unleashing Notus the South Wind to bring Deucalion's Flood (see 2.3.1 above). This represents Notus' first and only foray into the limelight of Wind mythology. The marvellous portrayal of the god is an apt description of the sirocco, which is identified as all southerly winds between Notus (true south) and Lips-Africus (south-west). It enters the southern Mediterranean with a hot blast of air from the African littoral, then becomes moist, drizzly and foggy as it travels across the sea. Ovid, who travelled in Asia Minor and Sicily, may have experienced these conditions himself, or he must have heard or read about them - Aristotle's descriptions of the winds and their effects in *Problems* and *De Meteorologica* may have sufficed for the poet.

(ii) Love, desire, sex, and sexual violence.

This is the largest category of our seven themes, concerning the major myths attached to Boreas, Zephyrus, and their mates and offspring (genealogical table 2). Homer is the first of our authors to mention the Winds in terms of mythology as well as metaphor, and in the first two examples we also have the equine theme related to sexual violence rather than martial violence. In the *Iliad* XVI.148-151, he describes the 'wind-swift' horses of Achilles, Xanthus and Ballius, as being the offspring of Zephyrus and the Harpy Podarge, who was raped as she grazed "the lush green grass along the Ocean's tides." At *Iliad* XX.223, Homer tells of Boreas mating with the mares of King Erichthonius to produce twelve colts with such delicate feet that they could run amongst the fields and not snap a single stalk of corn. In XXIII.192ff, Iris, the rainbow goddess and messenger of the Pantheon, is sent to "stormy Zephyr's halls" where all the Winds are gathered "to share his brawling banquet". The Winds, on seeing Iris, clamour for her to sit beside them; she refuses and delivers her message, which is that the winds should come at once to fan the flames of Patroclus' funeral pyre.

A cursory examination of these three appearances hints at a penchant for violence; again, this comes as no surprise given the nature of these deities, as in Homer the West Wind is not the gentle breeze of later periods, but a blustery stormy wind with as much force as his brother the North Wind. The first two examples are related to horses, these animals being the offspring of both Boreas and Zephyrus, and the Harpy Podarge (a Homeric Harpy, not included in Hesiod's *Theogony*) is depicted as horse-like as she grazes in the meadow - see below for more details. Padel notes that the scene with Iris is "rowdily male" as the Winds "catcall" to the goddess⁴⁷⁶, trying to attract her attention.

(a) Boreas and Oreithuia

With the Presocratic Acusilaus of Argos comes the earliest of the literary sources concerning Oreithuia, the house of Erechtheus, and Boreas. Acusilaus' prose work, the *Genealogies*, displays an interest in myths pertaining to the Winds: the golden apples of the Hesperidae are guarded by Harpies (frg. B5); the Boreads Zetes and Calaïs were killed by Hercules on Tinos (frg. B19); and he holds that there are only three Winds: Boreas, Zephyrus and Notus (thus in agreement with Hesiod; B30). In B35, Acusilaus states:

Oreithuia, daughter of Erechtheus, was carried away by Boreas as she walked in procession to Athena Polias. Boreas took her to Thrace, where she bore Zetes and Calaïs, who sailed with the Argonauts.

These two short sentences were to form the basis for centuries of discussion. This myth, supremely useful in terms of Athenian self-aggrandisement after the Cape Sepias incident in the Persian Wars (Herodotus VII.189; see above 2.1), has a somewhat murky past. The procession to Athena Polias probably refers to the Panathenaea, a festival already celebrated in Acusilaus' time⁴⁷⁷ and possibly in Homeric times (see *Iliad* II.549-551). Socrates would later provide a rationalising explanation for the myth (Plato, *Phaedrus* 229b), and indeed, the simplest reading of the myth would make it an allegory of the north-east wind, which does blow from Thrace, striking

⁴⁷⁶ R. Padel, *In and Out of the Mind*, Princeton University Press, 1992: 115-6.

⁴⁷⁷ The Panathenaea was a panhellenic festival from 566 B.C. until 410 A.D.

Athens during the meltemi season (in Hecatombeon, the month of the Panathenaea) before returning to its original source.

But a more complicated interpretation is offered by Loeschcke⁴⁷⁸ on the basis of the appearance of Boreas and Oreithuia on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias V.17.5-19.10; fig.2), a piece of archaic Corinthian art and the earliest depiction of the subject in the pictorial record, which at first sight would suggest that the myth cannot be restricted to Athens alone. We have discussed this above, but it is worth refreshing our memory, for the argument is complex. Loeschcke proposes that the Nereid Oreithuia (*Iliad* XVIII.39) is synonymous with the Athenian princess, whose father Erechtheus was originally a sea-deity, as he has the name Poseidon as an epithet and was worshipped in conjunction with the god of the sea on the Acropolis. Loeschcke's argument is intended to show that the Boreas-Oreithuia myth is not indigenous to Attica, but rather, it proves the opposite: the worship of Poseidon-Erechtheus is strictly Athenian, and appears to have arisen in order to reconcile the two diverse elements present on the Acropolis: that of the sea (the salt-water spring gifted to the Athenians by Poseidon in the battle for the city), and of the rock (Erechtheus is seen as one of the autochthonic hero-kings of Athens). However, whether the myth is indigenous or not, Oreithuia, and therefore Boreas, are connected to Poseidon. This provides a third, and similarly complex, reading of the myth: the continuing battle for control of Athens between Poseidon and Athena (see genealogical table 2).

Poseidon fought with Athena for possession of the city, and Athena won, earning the title of Athena Polias ('of the city'). Erechtheus is sometimes confused with Erichthonius, who was raised by Athena; Erechtheus fought against his great-grandson Eumolpus, child of Chione and Poseidon⁴⁷⁹, in the war between Eleusis and Athens, in which Eumolpus claimed Athens as his birthright. Erechtheus is pro-Athena; Boreas is an outsider from Thrace (a land ruled by Eumolpus) and is a subject of Poseidon's realm, although he remains separate from the god of the sea. He is also tamed by his love for Oreithuia, daughter of Erechtheus and so also pro-Athena.

⁴⁷⁸ G. Loeschcke, *supra* n.122.

⁴⁷⁹ Hyginus *Mythographus*, *Fabulae*, XLVI and CLVII.

Boreas and Oreithuia's daughter Chione is loved by Poseidon, resulting in Eumolpus, who is both the threat to Athens and the second challenge to Athena from Poseidon over the rights to the city. In the space of three generations we have presented to us an on-going battle for the domination of the city of Athens, which gives a win for Athena, followed by a stalemate, then a win for Poseidon. Naturally, the Erechtheid house wins the day, led by Ion, and Poseidon's descendants are conquered and become subject to Athenian rule.

By the time of the Cean poet Simonides, Acusilaus' myth was firmly entrenched in Athenian lore and now had a new function: it provided the focus for Athenian civic pride. Simonides, writing during the Persian Wars, was commissioned to compose a victory-ode (or prayer-song) in the shape of a melic poem, entitled *On the Sea-Fight Off Artemision*. This song was either performed in response to the oracle mentioned by Herodotus (VII.189), that the Athenians pray to their 'son-in-law', Boreas⁴⁸⁰, or was written afterwards to celebrate the great victory, perhaps being delivered in Boreas' honour at the founding of his shrine on the Ilissus⁴⁸¹. It is more likely that it was composed after the event, rather than before, due to the considerations of the war and also because Herodotus writes of a shrine set up on the banks of the Ilissus to Boreas and Oreithuia; so Simonides' song would be more appropriate later rather than sooner. In any case, it is not extant, but the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius writes:

Simonides says that Oreithuia was carried off from Brilessos and taken to the Sarpedonian Rock in Thrace... Oreithuia was the daughter of Erechtheus, and Boreas carried her off from Attica, took her to Thrace, had intercourse with her there and fathered Zetes and Calaïs...⁴⁸²

The Scholiast also adds that Simonides writes about the island of Sciathos in conjunction with the naval battle⁴⁸³: this is the island at the entrance to the gulf that divides Euboea from the mainland, and it stands directly opposite Cape Sepias to the north-west and Artemision to the south: its inclusion was probably in reference to the

⁴⁸⁰ The timing of both Herodotus and Simonides is considered by J. H. Molyneux in *Simonides*, Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda, 1992: 161ff.

⁴⁸¹ Wilmowitz 1913: 206-8, referred to in *ibid*: 159, n.62.

⁴⁸² Schol. Ap. Rhod., *ibid*: 158.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid*: 159.

Sepias incident, the wrecking of the Persian fleet. The basic story here has not changed, but two new features have been added: Oreithuia is taken from the mountainside in Attica and raped on another mountainside, the Sarpedonian Rock. Mount Brilessos lies to the north-east of Athens (see map 3), directly in the path of the meteorological wind from Thrace before it hits Athens, and it is presumably for this reason only that the location has moved from riverbank to mountainside. What Oreithuia could conceivably be doing on the slopes of a mountain so far from her city-walls is a difficult problem to address, although we should not forget that Oreithuia's name means 'rushing from the mountains'⁴⁸⁴, which may have had some impact on Simonides. Later poets like Choerilos of Samos, and Plato, placed Oreithuia gathering flowers or playing with her friends, but this was beside the city walls. Herodotus, writing after Simonides, states that an altar was erected on the banks of the Ilissus, which is the spot also named by Plato as the scene of the rape. The change from river to mountain, Ilissus to Brilessos, must be related to the direction of the Thracian North Wind; similarly, the Sarpedonian Rock (Cape Sarpedon, now called Cape Gramea or Paxi) lies on an almost perfect north-easterly alignment from Athens to Thrace.

Simonides is mentioned by the mid-fourth century A.D. rhetorician Himerius, and it would appear that the *Sea-Fight* was performed at the festival of the Panathenaea *in perpetua*, in remembrance of the aid sent by Boreas to the Athenians:

The cables of the ship will be untied by an ode, the ode which a holy chorus of Athenians chants, summoning the wind to the boat, bidding it to be present and fly in company with the sacred vessel; and the wind, doubtless recognising its very own ode which Simonides sang to it after the sea-fight, at once obeys the music and blowing hard astern, drives the ship with its blast on a prosperous voyage⁴⁸⁵.

The ship referred to is the ship which carried the peplos to the cult statue of Athena in the Parthenon; this ship was mounted on wheels to facilitate its journey along the Panathenaic Way and up the side of the Acropolis. For Himerius to record this at such a late date would strongly suggest that Simonides' song became an integral part of the

⁴⁸⁴ See supra n.125.

⁴⁸⁵ Himerius, *Orations* 47 (frg. 535), in *Lyra Graeca* 3, tr. D. A. Campbell, Loeb, 1991.

Panathenaea after 480 B.C. - and here we may recall that Boreas (in the form of the meltemi) rose during the most important day of the eight-day Panathenaic festival following the sighting of Sirius (see above, section 2.2.1). This means that for very nearly a millennium⁴⁸⁶, Boreas was worshipped along with his father-in-law Erechtheus in the festival to Athena Polias.

Herodotus confirms and supports the evidence of Simonides. In his account of the Persian Wars, he makes reference to the oracles that were delivered to the Athenians. There were two concerning the Winds, but it is the one at VII.189 that we are most interested in at present. The oracle tells the Athenians to pray to their son-in-law, Boreas, who subsequently wrecks the Persian fleet at anchor off Cape Sepias. Herodotus is sceptical about divine aid. The incident occurred in early August, in meltemi season, and the Persians were quite foolish to anchor their fleet in an area prone to wind-funnelling, although it was to prove most fortunate to the Athenians, who consequently built an altar to Boreas and Oreithuia in thanks. As we have seen from the artistic evidence, this was the one incident that raised the profile of this myth in Athens to the point where it became a symbol of pride and civic self-aggrandisement. This would explain the tragedians' interest in the life of Oreithuia and her offspring as the basis for their plays: Aeschylus⁴⁸⁷ and Sophocles⁴⁸⁸ both wrote plays entitled *Oreithuia*, as did the poet Choerilos of Samos⁴⁸⁹, while Aristonymos wrote a comedy⁴⁹⁰. None of these plays are now extant; however, a fragment of Choerilos reveals that he set the scene of the rape on the banks of the Cephissus (outside the city walls, west of the Acropolis), where Oreithuia was picking flowers. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote plays on *Phineus* or *The Children of Phineus*, with Sophocles penning two versions. He also refers to Oreithuia's daughter Cleopatra in his *Antigone*, where at 1.966-987 the unfortunate daughter-sister of Oedipos is likened to Cleopatra and her sons. Cleopatra had married Phineus, a king of Thrace, and they had two sons. Cleopatra was then put aside in favour of Idaia,

⁴⁸⁶ 890 years exactly; although the Panathenaea was interrupted by various wars over the years, so this is by no means a continuous run. The ship was used in the Great Panathenaea (every four years).

⁴⁸⁷ *TrGF* III F 281.

⁴⁸⁸ *TrGF* IV p.496.

⁴⁸⁹ *FrGH* 696.

⁴⁹⁰ The *Boreas*; Aristonymos frg.8, *FrAC* I, 489.

who killed the grandsons of Boreas. For condoning (or taking part in) this cruel deed, Phineus was blinded and tormented by the Harpies⁴⁹¹. In this state, driven into exile, Phineus was discovered by the Argonauts and his (former) brothers-in-law, the Boreads, chased away the Harpies. Sophocles chooses to write of the killing of the young princes, and tells of Cleopatra being of

a proud Athenian line and the high gods
and off in caverns half the world away
born of the wild North Wind
she sprang on her father's gales
racing stallions up leaping cliffs⁴⁹².

The point of the Chorus at this part of the play is that even the children of gods can have a cruel fate; but Sophocles is also reminding his Athenian audience of their mythical past. The fascination with this subject continued with Euripides, whose lost play *Erechtheus* presented the king of Athens as ready to sacrifice his youngest daughter Otiona (genealogical table 3) to save the city in the battle with Eleusis and Eumolpus, and with Timotheus of Miletus, who wrote a dithyramb on the children of Phineus⁴⁹³. The sudden interest in the subject during the early fourth century may have been sparked by the threatened invasion of Attica by the tyrant Jason of Pherae in 373 B.C., so that Boreas and his family would have provided, once again, a focal point for civic pride, reminding the people that invaders had been conquered before and could be defeated again.

By the end of the fifth and into the fourth century, philosophers, notably the Sophists, were questioning the commonly-held belief systems of the times, and challenging the existence of the gods. While Socrates (through the writings of Plato) does not discount the existence of the gods, he does not specifically believe in them, either. In Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* (written towards the end of his life, between 360-348 B.C.)⁴⁹⁴, there is a lengthy preamble to the main debate on the issue of Ideal Love

⁴⁹¹ Pseudo-Apollodorus states that it was because of a misuse of prophetic powers. *Biblio.* I.9.21.

⁴⁹² *Soph. Ant.* 1.966-987, tr. R. Fagles, Penguin, London, 1984.

⁴⁹³ He also wrote an epic poem, much of which is now lost, entitled *The Persians*. This deals with the Greek victory at Salamis and includes a prayer from a drowning Persian to Ishtar to save him from the "ship-wrecking" winds and the "night-freezing Boreas". Frg. 791 of the Berlin papyrus, in *Greek Lyric IV*, tr. D. A. Campbell, Loeb, 1993.

⁴⁹⁴ Plato, *Phaedrus*, tr. C. J. Rowe, Aris and Phillips, Warminster, 1986: 14.

that includes an ironic take on the Boreas-Oreithuia myth. The position occupied by this tale in the dialogue is, I believe, crucial to the structure of the subsequent discussion, and therefore it is worth making a somewhat lengthy excursus into the realms of Socratic philosophy as seen in the *Phaedrus*.

The *Phaedrus* is light-hearted and jocular, one could almost say playful, in tone, with Socrates spending some time abusing the *sophoi* - in this case, the rationalists, or allegorists. Plato may have had a particular sophist in mind: Metrodorus of Lampascus, a contemporary of Euripides. Metrodorus believed that Homer's work was purely allegorical, assigning physical substances and elements to different Olympians⁴⁹⁵, and during the late fifth century this type of rationalisation became very influential: indeed, it would not have been surprising to find a rationalist specialising in Attic myths. Plato's (and Socrates') attitude to the allegorists is simple, as Tate explains: the 'hidden meanings' that the rationalists seek to uncover are too numerous, with a wide diversity of interpretations available, and with no method of deciding which is the correct meaning. Therefore, there is no point in discussing it⁴⁹⁶. Socrates does not entirely reject the use of allegory, however, as he mythologises his own *logoi* which includes an amount of allegorising in order to clarify issues rather than to deconstruct them.

Now let us turn to the Boreas-Oreithuia myth. As de Vries notes, the use of the personal articles at 229b 5, ο Βορέας την Ορειθυίαν, indicate that Boreas and Oreithuia are well-known⁴⁹⁷ - doubtless through the artistic and literary records we are engaged in examining - but what is the relevance of this myth to the rest of the dialogue, or does it only have a connection with the introductory remarks? Hackforth puts forward the view that its inclusion is to "preclude any questions that might arise later on about the local divinities who inspire Socrates"⁴⁹⁸ - in other words, *Phaedrus* and we ourselves should not attempt to rationalise the myths that Plato puts into Socrates' mouth any more than we should follow the rationalising of the Boreas-Oreithuia myth. However, we can rationalise Socrates' rationalising: in previous

⁴⁹⁵ R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus*, CUP, 1952: 13.

⁴⁹⁶ Tate in R. Hackforth, *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ G. J. de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato*, Amsterdam, 1969: 47.

⁴⁹⁸ R. Hackforth, *supra* n.496: 15.

versions of this myth, Boreas at first tried by force of words - rhetoric - to win over, to persuade, his beloved's father to accept his suit: we may imagine that he spoke in the same terms as Lysias' speech (230e 5-234d). Boreas then abandons rhetoric and relies on his own physical force to carry off Oreithuia, which neatly illustrates the point of the first of the Socratic speeches: Love is bad because it stems from Desire, forsaking Reason, which leads to acts of *mania* - like rape. The third part of the myth is unusual in Classical mythology as we have already noted, as Oreithuia ends her time happily as a satisfied wife and mother. This ties in with Socrates' second speech, that erotic *mania* is sent by the gods (and can be felt by the gods), and that Love can lead to great happiness, which to Plato's mind is the stability of the Soul in Reason, and to Oreithuia was a happy marriage.

To return to the text: Socrates mentions two locations for the rape - the Ilissus and the Areopagus. At the opening of the dialogue, Phaedrus and the philosopher decide to walk along the Ilissus as it is a sunny day. Says Phaedrus,

Our easiest way is to get our feet wet and walk in the stream. Pleasant enough, too, at this hour and time of year (229b).

The Ilissus is one of Athens' two main rivers, although Phaedrus' description of it as a 'stream' is far more accurate (fig.125); it runs to the south-east of the Classical city walls. Socrates wants to sit down and talk, so Phaedrus points out a plane tree which provides enough shade for them to be comfortable. Since Phaedrus is in a rustic mood, he wonders about "the story that Boreas abducted Oreithuia from somewhere here", noting that the water of the Ilissus is "delightfully fresh and clear, just the place for girls to play". When Phaedrus asks Socrates if he seriously believes the legend of Boreas and Oreithuia, the philosopher replies thus:

The *hoi sophoi*^(sic) reject it, so if I rejected it too then I should be in good company. In that case I should rationalise the legend by explaining that the North Wind blew Oreithuia down the neighbouring rocks when she was playing with Pharmaceia, and that her dying in this way was the origin of the legend that she was abducted by Boreas. Or else she fell from the Areopagus, for according to one version the abduction took place from the Areopagus, not from here.

This raises several points. Firstly, although the summer meltemi in Athens can reach a

wind speed of 10-20 knots during an afternoon, this is not the kind of force that would push a young girl onto some rocks, and if it were, it would not be enough to kill her considering the path of the Ilissus (fig.125). Secondly, the name of her companion, Pharmaceia, is interesting. Many of the writers, and indeed a number of the pottery painters that deal with this myth, relate that Oreithuia was accompanied by her friends or her sisters prior to the rape. It is only in Plato that we are given the name of one specific friend: Pharmaceia is popularly identified as a nymph of the spring that joins the Ilissus⁴⁹⁹, but she could be much more than that. Her name means “of drugs, poison, or spells”, and it is a name strongly associated with witchcraft. On one level, the power to control the winds was seen as being peculiar to sorcerers and witches, the best examples being Circe in *Odyssey* X, and Medea in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* VII.200ff, both of whom can call up breezes at will. Is Socrates punning on the combination of Oreithuia’s death by being blown by a mysteriously strong wind and by her friend’s name, which happens to encapsulate control of the winds via magic?

Another reading of Pharmaceia’s name can be based on the root *pharmakos*, which again means ‘sorcerer’, but has the secondary significance of ‘scapegoat’. Erechtheus’ youngest daughter Otiona gave her life in sacrifice for Athens, and was joined by two of her sisters who committed suicide. The ritual sacrifice of a human being - in mythology, usually a young virgin of noble blood (compare Iphigenia, for example, as another maiden killed in connection with the winds) - serves to act as a scapegoat for the city, thus ensuring the safety of the *polis*. With Pharmaceia, the allusion works on two levels: Socrates could be punning on the scapegoat aspect, suggesting that Oreithuia’s death was also for the good of Athens, as were the deaths of her sisters in the other legend. This carries more force if we recall the Persian Wars and the aid given to the Athenians by Boreas, husband of Oreithuia - the city once again benefited from the ‘sacrifice’ of a noble maiden. The pun also works if we look at it from a more social angle: Oreithuia, initially the victim of a rape (which distances a female from her family in terms of marriageability and social standing), and then as a bride in Thrace (far from the civilised world of Athens) would be, to all intents and purposes, dead to the Hellenised world if she had been a real woman.

⁴⁹⁹ See supra n.122: 225.

The second location given by Socrates as the scene for the rape is the Areopagus, and a number of commentators believe that the sentence mentioning the Areopagus is an intruded gloss, stating that it hangs rather oddly off the end of the preceding sentence⁵⁰⁰. There are, of course, several reasons as to why this should be so: Ast believed it was a sarcastic comment included to show the arbitrary nature of the rationalists' interpretations⁵⁰¹, while Verdenius writes that it is there to "emphasise the uncertainty and unreliability of mythological traditions"⁵⁰². De Vries adds that Socrates is showing just how little he cares about Phaedrus' question on the myth's reality by tossing in a variant tradition during what amounts to a textual aside⁵⁰³. Certainly, we have no other source but Plato for this version of the myth, so could we not put forward the suggestion that Socrates is being humorous again? On the most basic level, it would make rather more sense for the wind to blow Oreithuia off the Areopagus, which is a more likely scenario and one that would result in death upon the rocks below. Then there is the matter of the word *Areopagus* ('Hill of Ares') itself: there is a well-established bond between Ares and Boreas - both gods had similar violent temperaments, both hailed from Thrace, being close neighbours; according to Callimachus, Ares stabled his horses beside the seven-chambered cave in which Boreas lived on Mount Haemus⁵⁰⁴. A final consideration is that it was the seat of the supreme murder court, and given that under Athenian law, inanimate things (rocks, trees, and presumably winds) could be tried, and convicted, for manslaughter - then, given that Oreithuia was murdered on, or from, the supreme court, it would strongly suggest that Socrates was being somewhat ironic in his choice of location.

One final point will show that the Boreas-Oreithuia story should be considered as integral with the main body of the dialogue. At 255c 1-2, during the discussion of *mania*, Socrates describes the act of falling in Love, beginning with the lover simply being in the company of the beloved, then moving to the physical (but non-sexual) contact; then, says Socrates, "the springs of that stream which Zeus as lover of Ganymede named 'Desire' flow in abundance upon the lover...". De Vries notes that

⁵⁰⁰ C. J. Rowe, *supra* n.495: 140.

⁵⁰¹ G. J. de Vries, *supra* n.498: 46.

⁵⁰² W. J. Verdenius, "Notes on Plato's Phaedrus", *Mnemosyne* 1955: 265-289.

⁵⁰³ C. J. Rowe, *supra* n.495: 140

⁵⁰⁴ Callimachos, *Hymn to Delos* l.65.

Socrates seems to be being humorous again, as Zeus was the god most invoked by philosophers in their brand of religion, and here is mentioned the myth which shows that even Zeus breaks with the tenets of Reason to yield to those of Passion when confronted with a youth of outstanding beauty, like Ganymede - actions which Socrates has already criticised⁵⁰⁵. Rowe comments that, as far as this dialogue is concerned, Ganymede is the male equivalent of Oreithuia⁵⁰⁶, which would seem to be the case: the use of the simile of Desire as a stream does rather lead one back to the banks of the Ilissus and the Desire of Boreas that led to Oreithuia's rape. The discussion on *mania* which includes the Ganymede myth effectively closes the first section of the *Phaedrus*, just as the myth of Boreas and Oreithuia opens the discussion. Thus, as we have seen, the myth relates to the main body of the text in an integral manner, as well as showing that the tale of Boreas and Oreithuia was still recounted a century after events at Cape Sepias; and here we end our Socratic excursus.

By the late third century, the variant myths set out by Herodotus, Plato and Simonides seem to have been reconciled, at least in Apollonius Rhodius. The consequent adoption of the Ilissus as the location of the rape was most likely due to the altar sited on the river following Artemision: a permanent structure to Boreas would ensure the association with the location of the shrine. Simonides' ode is elaborated upon by Apollonius Rhodius in *Argonautica* I.211-223:

Next came Zetes and Calais, children of the North Wind, whom Oreithuia daughter of Erechtheus had borne to Boreas in the wintry borderland of Thrace. It was from Attica that Thracian Boreas brought her there. She was whirling in the dance on the banks of the Ilissus when he snatched her up and carried her far away to a place called Sarpedon's Rock, near the flowing waters of Erginus, where he wrapped her in a dark cloud and overcame her.

Apollonius' interest is largely in the Argonaut Boreads, so their parentage is mentioned only this once and briefly referred to again at I.1300-1308. The poet expands the tale, writing that Oreithuia was dancing prior to her rape - a harmless enough past-time for a young girl, to be sure, just like gathering flowers - but dancing

⁵⁰⁵ G. J. de Vries, *supra* n.498: 174.

⁵⁰⁶ C. J. Rowe, *supra* n.495: 188.

also has a ritual or erotic significance, depending upon the context of its performance. Whether Apollonius intended any reference to the festival of Athena Polias by including the dancing rather than flower-gathering is a matter of conjecture, and is of little importance. The Sarpedonian Rock reappears, described as being close to the River Erginus (Erigon), a tributary of the great Axios (Vardar) River in western Macedonia - note that Apollonius Rhodius, who attempts to include precise directions to the voyage of the *Argo* from Pagasae to Colchis, has gotten his geography hopelessly muddled here: the Sarpedonian Rock is some five hundred miles to the east of the Erginus!

Roman writers approached myths of the Winds with a more pragmatic view, often rewriting the Greek tales to include a more meteorological slant. Ovid and Statius provide good examples of this shift in perception to depict the Winds as elemental deities as well as mythological godlings - certainly the Greeks never felt the need to underline this former aspect. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VI.682 we read of the rape of Oreithuia. Boreas, rejected by Erechtheus as a suitor, indulges in a monologue in which he reproaches himself for "making humble prayers, quite unsuited to my character [when] violence is natural to me". The description of Boreas' violence, which "freeze[s] the snow, and lash[es] the earth with hail" is as accurate as the poet's earlier description of Notus-sirocco: here is Boreas as the vicious winter bora described so well in Hesiod's *Works and Days* 504-518. Statius' *Thebaid* XII.630 tells of the "Elisos [Ilissus], who, privy to Oreithuia's rape, concealed beneath his banks the Thracian lover" - this could possibly be influenced by the phenomenon seen along river-banks in the early morning, especially in the summer, when clouds lie low, forming mist. The wind, once risen in late morning, will blow away these clouds. Statius' line does, therefore, have more than poetic significance.

Strabo uses the myth to touch upon natural history and geography, even quoting a line from Sophocles' lost play *Oreithuia* in his *Geographica* VII.8.3:

It is because of men's ignorance of these regions that any heed has been given to those who created the mythical... 'Hyperboreans'... So then, these men should be disregarded. In fact, if even Sophocles, when in his role as tragic poet he speaks of Oreithuia, tells of how she was snatched up by 'Boreas' and carried "over the whole sea to the ends of the earth

and to the sources of the night and to the unfoldings of heaven and to the ancient gardens of Phoebus", his story can have no bearing on the present enquiry, but should be disregarded, just as it is disregarded by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*.

Strabo, like so many of the ancient writers, heaps scorn upon his predecessors who foolishly believed in beings and regions which are, to Strabo, blatantly ridiculous. This is less to do with sophistry, as he would have us believe, and more to do with pride in one's own achievements. He casually dismisses the Hyperboreans, a staple component of any work written about far-off places (Herodotus IV.33ff; Pindar *Olympian Odes* III.3; Callimachos *To Delos* I.281ff), but fortunately preserves one line of Sophocles, in which the poet tells of Oreithuia's journey with Boreas to the north ('ends of the earth'), south ('sources of the night'), east ('unfoldings of heaven') and west ('gardens of Phoebus'), before her actual rape in Thrace. Although this single line cannot aid us much in the reconstruction of the play, it does show that Sophocles had in mind the sheer power of the North Wind, his force being enough to blow the girl in all compass directions and to the very reaches of the earth.

Finally, Lucian puts forth a similar view in his work *The Lover of Lies* 3, when Tychiades says:

If any man, however, does not think that these silly stories are true, but sanely puts them to the proof and holds that only a Coroebos and a Margites can believe... that Oreithuia was carried off by Boreas, they consider that man a sacrilegious fool for doubting facts so evident and genuine; to such an extent does falsehood prevail.

This sounds similar to Strabo's views, only in reverse. Tychiades, like Strabo, considers that the myths of the gods are pure invention; yet there were still those superstitious or devout enough (i.e. the lovers of lies) to class the unbelievers as sacrilegious. The inclusion of Boreas and Oreithuia in this section of the speech does suggest that Lucian was thinking specifically of Strabo, or perhaps even Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*, since he is attacking the rationalist viewpoint.

(b) Zephyrus.

Zephyrus appears most often in the Roman literary sources rather than the

Greek, and he is generally regarded as a gentle, favourable wind, the antithesis of the blustery force presented by Homer. When the poets are not discussing the specific myth of Zephyrus-Hyacinthus, they tend to refer to other Wind-gods, particularly Boreas, as a template model for the reader to judge Zephyrus against.

Alcaeus, the Lesbian poet contemporary with Sappho, wrote in praise of Eros, giving his parentage as Iris and Zephyrus:

...thee, awfulest of Gods, sandalled Iris bore to Zephyr of the golden hair⁵⁰⁷.

Eros is one of the first gods and one of the last gods to be born: in Orphic and Presocratic creation myths, Eros was hatched from the Universal Egg, because without Desire, then there would be no procreation and no other gods. He was also seen as the child of Aphrodite (sexual love) by Ares (violence and war), Hermes (originally god of fertility), or Zeus (power). Any combination of these gods with Aphrodite provides a sound explanation for Eros' nature and deeds. Compared to these august deities, the coupling of Iris and Zephyrus to create Eros seems a little tame. As Graves notes, it can be no more than a "lyrical fancy"⁵⁰⁸: the Rainbow and the West Wind creating the god of Love. This does, of course, have its reverse side: Alcaeus may have had the more pleasant aspects of both Iris and Zephyrus in mind, but one should take into account the fact that, in order for a rainbow to appear, there must be a rainstorm; and that on the evidence from Homer as well as from meteorology, the West Wind is not always favourable but is very often violent.

This violence against loved ones is explored in the case of Hyacinthus and Chloris-Flora. The addition of Zephyrus to the Apollo-Hyacinthus myth is first recorded in the literary sources by Palaiphatos⁵⁰⁹, a poet of the fourth century B.C., but was not developed until the Roman imperial period, when the myth seemingly became quite popular as a subject for paintings. Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* 14 is a conversation between Hermes and Apollo; the latter is mournful at the death of Hyacinthus, and Hermes asks: "Who was so insensible to charm as to kill that lovely

⁵⁰⁷ Frg. 13.2 ('To Love'), in *Lyra Graeca* I, tr. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb, 1963.

⁵⁰⁸ R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* I, Penguin, Baltimore, 1955: 58.

⁵⁰⁹ Palaiphatos, *De Incredibilia*, frg.46, in *Myth.Gr.* 3.2.

boy?”. When Apollo admits that it was he himself, Hermes is shocked: “What! Were you mad, Apollo?” The god explains:

[Hyacinthus] was learning to throw the quoit, and I was throwing it with him, when Zephyrus did it - curse that wind above them all! - Zephyrus, too, had been in love with him for a long time, but the boy wouldn't look at him, and he couldn't stand his contempt. Well, I threw my quoit as usual, and Zephyrus blew down from Taygetus, and dashed it down on the boy's head. Blood poured out where it hit him, and he died on the spot, poor lad. I shot back at Zephyrus with my arrows, and chased him hard, all the way back to the mountain.

Taygetus is both the mountain range that divides Laconia from Messenia and also its highest summit (2404m); it lies to the west of Sparta and down-draughts from the range affect the Eurotas valley - so Lucian's description is well-grounded in meteorological reality.

The *Imagines* of Philostratus the Elder and Younger both record the myth from a pictorial standpoint. Philostratus the Elder describes the painting⁵¹⁰:

A lout is Zephyrus, who was angry with Apollo and caused the quoit to strike the youth, and the scene seems a laughing matter to the wind, and he taunts the god from his look-out. You can see him, I think, with his winged temples and his delicate form; and he wears a crown of all kinds of flowers, and will soon weave the hyacinth in amongst them⁵¹¹.

Philostratus the Younger, grandson to the Elder, describes a different painting thus:

[Hyacinthus is standing beside Apollo, who is about to throw the quoit] and Zephyrus, who just shows his savage eye from his place of look-out - by all this the painter suggests the death of the youth, and as Apollo makes his cast, Zephyrus, by breathing athwart its course, will cause the quoit to strike Hyacinthus⁵¹².

The myth can generally be regarded as an allegory of fertility, as Apollo turns the dying Hyacinthus into a flower. The Spartans (and indeed, all the Dorian cities) celebrated the month of Hyacinthia which is equivalent to our month of July⁵¹³, and

⁵¹⁰ The description is not a catalogue or an attempt at praising the artist; it is written in order to stimulate the mind of the reader, who should be able to 'imagine' (hence the title) the picture from the power of the description alone.

⁵¹¹ Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* I.24.

⁵¹² Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines* 14.

⁵¹³ M. Peterrsson, *supra* n.262: 10.

thus also equivalent to the Athenian month of Hecatombeon. The Hyacinthia was therefore a New Year festival, as was the Panathenaea. Zephyrus' involvement in the myth is clearly a later tradition⁵¹⁴ (especially as it is a subject that appears firstly on pottery, approximately a century before it is first noted in the extant literary record), as was the inclusion of Apollo in the original Dorian myth of (a mature) Hyacinthus⁵¹⁵; Zephyrus as harbinger of Spring and of the flowers is therefore the agent of Hyacinthus' death and also his rebirth, and in this capacity becomes just as important as Apollo is in his role as sun-god.

Zephyrus' connection with flowers continues with his relationship with Chloris-Flora. Ovid's *Fasti* is the only extant source that partners the two deities, at V.195ff, the section of the calendar devoted to Flora, goddess of the Springtime and of Flowers. Her festival in Rome was celebrated from 28th April to the 3rd May. Ovid makes her describe herself: she "was once called Chloris. The Greek spelling of my name became corrupted by the Latin pronunciation". She tells of her great beauty and of how, when walking in a meadow in the spring, Zephyrus happened to see her:

I walked on; he followed me; I fled, but he proved stronger. Boreas too had given his brother a full penchant for violence, when he dared to carry off his prize from the house of Erechtheus. Yet he made amends for his violence by giving me the name of wife, and in my marriage bed I have no cause for complaint.

Flora was originally an Italian deity before she was equated with Chloris; the union between this goddess and Zephyrus is based upon the gentle side of the West Wind, harbinger of Spring and fertility: Flora's dowry is a garden, which "my husband has filled with flowers of the choicest kind", and she herself states that she is happy in the marriage, especially the sexual side⁵¹⁶. This is presented to be at odds with Oreithuia's lot: Boreas is the more violent Wind-god since Zephyrus, although having a capability for violence in passion, was willing to make amends afterwards by marriage⁵¹⁷.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid: 34-5.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid: 35-6.

⁵¹⁶ It is probably also worth noting that the Floralia was the festival of prostitutes!

⁵¹⁷ So too did Boreas, on occasions: Herodotus VII.189, Ovid *Met.* VI.682ff.

(c) The Aeolids and the Winds.

The interest in sexual and domestic violence is expanded by Ovid to include the Aeolids (genealogical table 4), who lived on the bronze island Aeolia under the sway of their king and father, Aeolus. We shall encounter Aeolus later in this section; for the moment, his daughter Canace is our focus. In *Heroides* XI.9-14, Canace writes in despair to her brother-lover Macareus after their father has discovered their incestuous relationship. Canace has fallen pregnant, and has been ordered to kill herself:

Fierce as [Aeolus] is, far harsher than his own east winds, he would look dry-eyed upon my wounds. Surely, something comes from a life with savage winds - his temper is like that of his subjects. It is Notus, and Zephyrus, and Sithonian Boreas, over whom he rules, and over thy pinions, wanton Eurus. He rules the winds, alas! but his swelling wrath he does not rule, and the realms of his possession are less wide than his faults.

Here again is the agreed convention that Eurus the east wind is an evil wind; likewise, Ovid follows Homer in assigning violence to all the winds, including Zephyrus. Aeolus the master is also mastered by his wards, according to his daughter; this is at variance with the descriptions of Homer and Virgil, who represent Aeolus as the soul of discretion, who obeys the gods above all else⁵¹⁸. Granted, in the case of Canace and Macareus, Aeolus feared that he had offended the gods, whose prerogative it was to freely commit incest: Ovid is again at variance with Homer, who states (*Odyssey* X.5-6) that Aeolus' six sons married the six daughters, in the Olympian tradition. Here the poet must be following Euripides, whose lost tragedy *Aeolus* is based on the premise that the fall of the House of Aeolus was due to incest⁵¹⁹.

The Aeolids are also mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XI.431ff, the story of Alcyone, daughter of Aeolus, and Ceyx, son of Eosphorus (Lucifer). Ceyx leaves on a voyage which will lead to his death, and Alcyone begs him not to leave her, telling him that once Aeolus has released the winds, nothing can stand in their way:

Every land and all the waters are at their mercy, and they even harry the

⁵¹⁸ For example, Aeolus breaks his *xenia* with Odysseus because the Ithacan is now "hated by the gods" (*Od.* X.70ff).

⁵¹⁹ Eur. *Aeolus*, frg.14 N2; see also F. Jouant and H. van Looy (eds.), *Euripides VIII: Fragments I: Aigeus-Autolykos*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1998: 15-37.

clouds in heaven, striking out fiery lightning flashes by their fierce collisions. The more I know them (and I do know them, and often saw them, when I was a little girl in my father's house), the more I think they are to be feared.

This is an interesting speech, insinuating as it does that Aeolus' control over the Winds only applies when they are imprisoned in Aiolia. However, this is a topic we shall be returning to; the other information we can glean from this tale of Ovid's is the meteorological references both real and mythical. The line which describes the winds harrying the clouds in heaven and causing the lightning through collision is very reminiscent of Socrates' account of storms in Aristophanes' comedy *The Clouds* (l.370ff - see below for further discussion), which in turn owes much to the Presocratic philosophers such as Heracleitus⁵²⁰. The final outcome of this tragic tale ends with the drowning of Ceyx, and the grieving Alcyone throws herself into the sea, only to be transformed into a halcyon bird (sea kingfisher). This bird apparently guards her floating nest for seven days before the winter solstice, and for seven days after it; for these fifteen days, the winds are held in check by Aeolus, so this period is known as the Halcyon Days. It goes without saying that no real bird would be nesting upon the ocean between 15th-29th December, but the myth may have arisen from a period of calm that may have been experienced when an anticyclone moved through a zone that should have been gripped by cyclonic activity. This is not a frequent event, particularly in the dead of winter, but the weather is unpredictable at the best of times - so this could well be an instance of myth functioning as aetiology.

(d) Miscellaneous Wind myths.

Two more literary sources will serve to bring this section on passion and sexual violence to a close. The first is Hyginus Mythographus, whose collection of *Fabulae* includes several tales pertaining to the myths we have discussed above. However, at both LIII and CXL there comes the tale of Leto's flight from the Python. Zeus orders Boreas to carry Leto to Ortygia (Delos), a floating island which will be fixed to the sea-bed on the command of Poseidon. Hyginus was writing in the late

⁵²⁰ See below, section 4.3; cf. Stobaeus *Eclogues* I.29.1.

first century B.C., and it is probable that this myth belonged to a much earlier tradition, possibly dating from the fifth century - the Athenian interest in Delos as the site of their treasury and focal point of the military league against the Persians, coupled with the iconographic evidence of the Boreas and Oreithuia acroterion on the Temple of the Athenians on Delos - suggests an origin for this myth of Leto and Boreas⁵²¹. Alternatively, it could yet be an even older tradition dating back to the Ionic colonisation of the island in the late 10th-early 9th century, when the worship of Apollo, Artemis and Leto was first instituted. Certainly the Homeric hymn *To Apollo* (mid 8th century), at l.25-8, tells of the “shrill winds” that howl about Delos and whip the sea landwards, but it does not specify which wind carried Leto to Ortygia - although, if we take modern wind patterns as our model, then the ‘shrill winds’ were most likely northerlies.

Our final example is from the Roman fifth century A.D. poet Nonnos, whose epic *Dionysiaca* brings together the many disparate strands of mythology to weave them into a pleasing, if somewhat occasionally baffling, whole. At XLVII.302ff, he tells of Ariadne abandoned on Naxos, and of her prayers:

If it should be Boreas blowing, I appeal to Oreithuia; but Oreithuia hates me, because she has the blood of Marathon, whence beloved Theseus came. If Zephyrus torments me, tell Iris the bride of Zephyrus and mother of Desire, to behold Ariadne maltreated. If it is Notus, if bold Eurus, I appeal to Eos and reproach the mother of the blustering Winds, lovelorn herself!

Here Nonnos brings together all the diverse elements from other myths, including Alcaeus’ lyrical fancy of Zephyrus and Iris. Eos is cast as lovelorn as she was forever pursuing handsome youths (Cephalos and Tithonos, for example) and losing them. Nonnos, then, is the ideal author with whom to close this section.

(iii) Martial violence and battle.

The use of the Wind-gods to emphasise a martial twist in a tale, or to describe

⁵²¹ Neuser suggests that the root of the matter was a case of political rivalry between Delphi and Delos during the early-mid fifth century; both sanctuaries boasted famous Oracles of Apollo, and both were patronised by Athens in addition to many other *poleis* and kings. K. Neuser, *supra* n.77: 87.

a battle sequence, is mainly through the employment of metaphor, as will be seen later (below, section 3.8.), but occasionally they (or their mythology) are used for other purposes. For example, Virgil, in referring to the battle between Aeneas' and Turnus' armies at *Aeneid* X.345ff, writes: "Clasus also laid low three Thracians of the most exalted line of Boreas". In a war it became important to identify oneself, not only with one's own side, but with a mythological or legendary figure who would act as a patron deity for the soldiers. Here the Thracians, understandably, trace their lineage to Boreas, the most famous warlike Thracian. This was a subject touched on by later writers, notably Silius Italicus, whose *Punic Wars* records a city's legendary founder at VIII.513ff:

No less zealous were the natives of Sidicinum, whose mother-city is Cales. Cales had no mean founder - even Calais, who, as legend tells, was nurtured in Thracian caves by Oreithuia, when she was carried off by the blast of wanton Boreas through the sky.

While this adds nothing new to the original Boreas-Oreithuia legend, it does show the importance of the hero-cult to a city⁵²², especially in a combat situation: Calais was an Argonaut as well as being the Thracian son of Boreas, so he was a good founder-hero to emulate.

(iv) Horses.

Horses were extremely important in antiquity to both the Greeks and Romans, being both a symbol of wealth⁵²³ and necessary for the battlefield; the second class of Athenian citizens was called the *hippeis*, the knights (the Roman equivalent was the *equites*), as they had sufficient money to provide for the upkeep of a horse. Owning a thoroughbred and fleet horse would be considered a mark of distinction, in much the same way that owning a fast and expensive sportscar would be considered a mark of distinction today. Horses were the sign of nobility: in fourth century Sparta, the breeding of horses for chariot-racing was undertaken only by the wealthy⁵²⁴, and the

⁵²² Boreas was enrolled as a citizen of Thurii after he had helped the people against the Laonians (see 3.1.(ii) above). Ael. *VH* XII.61, cf. Paus. VIII.36.6.

⁵²³ Dardanos is described as the "richest man in the world" precisely because of his large stable of horses: *Iliad* XX.221.

⁵²⁴ Xen. *Ages*. IX.2.6.

same applied in Athens for the breeding of race-horses⁵²⁵. Their cost must have fluctuated depending upon the market, availability and bloodstock, but it is clear from the sources that the prices were expressed in terms of *minae* (one hundred drachmas) or talents (sixty *minae*): for example, Alcibiades' Olympic-winning team was valued at five talents⁵²⁶, and Alexander the Great's horse Bucephalos was valued at up to sixteen talents⁵²⁷.

The Olympian god who is considered to have created horses, and who is their protector, is Poseidon, supreme god of the sea. Homer specifically mentions that the Harpy Podarge was beside the ocean when Zephyrus raped her (*Iliad* XVI.148-151), and this is the first of a series of tales that link Poseidon to the Winds, sometimes through horses, sometimes through blood-ties (see above, the Aeolid connection). Horses and battle are a favourite topic with regards to the Winds, however, with the relationship emphatically drawn by Callimachos in his *Hymn to Delos*, l.65ff:

The space of the continent did bold Ares watch, sitting armed on the high top of Thracian Haemus, and his horses were stalled by the seven-chambered cave of Boreas.

Here is the almost inevitable link between Ares, god of violence and war, who himself hails from Thrace, and Boreas, the violent north wind who originates from Thrace (Mount Haemus being one of the mythological homes of Boreas, along with the River Strymon). Later tradition will make Ares' horses the children of Boreas, but for now they are content to be stabled close by his home. Winds were often thought to live in caves - Aeolia is riddled with caves which the Winds inhabit, and even Pliny speaks of a place called 'The Earth's Door-Bolt', a cave whence the north wind rises⁵²⁸ - and the seven chambers may well be an echo of the Presocratic belief that the cosmos was ordered into seven chambers.

⁵²⁵ Isocrates 16.33.

⁵²⁶ Isocrates 16, especially 16.46. See also M. Otswald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of the Law: Law, Society and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens*, Berkeley, California and Los Angeles, 1986: 311 n.67.

⁵²⁷ Chares in Aulus Gellius V.2.2; Pliny *NH* VIII.154. The modern value is equivalent to £170,000; the average price for a horse in 1991 was £2,003.40 (1,908 guineas). For ancient prices and modern values, see M. Vickers and D. W. J. Gill, *supra* n.36, chapter 2 (pp.33-54), especially 35-37, n.21 and 31.

⁵²⁸ Pliny, *NH* VII.1.10.

Valerius Flaccus' incomplete version of the *Argonautica* draws a finer parallel between Winds and horses at 1.609ff, when Boreas asks permission from Aeolus to raise a storm:

Then did Hippotades drive against the mighty door with a whirling blast. Joyfully from the prison burst the Thracian horses, Zephyrus and Notus of the night-dark pinions with all the sons of the storms, and Eurus, his hair dishevelled with the blasts, and tawny with much sand...

Here Aeolus is referred to by his epithet 'Hippotades', and is clearly Aeolus son of Poseidon (see genealogical table 4), and in addition, the Winds are specifically called 'Thracian horses' - although, strictly speaking, only one of the Winds was Thracian. Quintus of Smyrna, however, is our best linking source. In his epic *The Fall of Troy* at I.167ff, the Amazon warrior-queen Penthesilea rides a special horse into battle, an animal given to her by Oreithuia as a host-gift, "a steed whose flying feet could match the Harpies' wings". This not only underlines the connection between Winds and horses, it also serves to remind the reader of the place of horses as valuable commodities: Oreithuia's gift was a rich one, and unusual from one woman to another, which suggests the martial nature of the Amazons. The link continues at IV.569ff, which describes a horse's lineage as descending from Arion, "the foal begotten by the loud-piping Zephyrus upon a Harpy". Arion is generally regarded as being the offspring of Poseidon and Demeter; Quintus of Smyrna was presumably using the Homeric example of Zephyrus and Podarge from *Iliad* XVI.148ff in the furtherance of a generation of wind-swift horses. Another example of this comes at VIII.241ff, where Boreas is said to be the father, by the Harpy Erinnyes, of Ares' four fire-breathing horses, named (appropriately enough) Red-Fire, Flame, Tumult and Panic-Fear.

Nonnos' *Dionysiaca* continues in the same vein, when at XXXVIII.155, Erechtheus harnesses his horses Bayard and Swiftfoot to his chariot before going to war. These horses were the offspring of Boreas and a Harpy, "and the Wind gave them as love-price to his father-in-law Erechtheus when he stole Attic Oreithuia for his bride". Again we have the notion of horses as valuable gifts, given in exchange for a woman, this time in recompense for a rape. It is interesting to note that often, the

mother of these wind-swift horses is a Harpy; the variant traditions surrounding the nature of the Harpies makes it impossible for us to know what manner of creature the poets were envisaging - the foul scavengers of the *Argonautica*, chased (and sometimes killed) by the Boreads, or the demonic storm-winds of Presocratic and Homeric belief. Quintus of Smyrna actually credits Boreas as being the father of the Gales (i.e. Harpies) at I.684 before his later statement about the parentage of Ares' horses, which would suggest that some sort of Aeolid-type incest was going on - but it is unlikely that Quintus of Smyrna intended such a reference!

(v) Religious rite.

In Lucian's *The Dance*, the Cynic philosopher Crato is converted by Lycinus to an enjoyment of dancing. Dances were performed in masks and appropriate costumes to the accompaniment of music and a spoken dialogue, which was read over the action as it happened. Lycinus lists the subjects suitable for dances, including at 40, the story of Boreas and Oreithuia, and at 45, the story of Hyacinthus, Apollo and Zephyrus. These dances would be primarily religious, not just being concerned with a sacred subject, but they would be performed at an appropriate occasion, such as a public festival to Dionysus. It is interesting to compare Crato's pleasure in the dance with the words of Philostratus, who wrote in 217 A.D. in *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* of the Pythagorean's scorn for dances, particularly those he saw performed at the City Dionysia:

Nay more, I hear that you turn yourselves into winds, and wave your shirts, and pretend you are ships bellying their sails aloft. But surely you might at least have some respect for the winds that were once your allies and once blew mightily to protect you, instead of turning Boreas who was your patron, and who of all the winds is the most masculine, into a woman; for Boreas would never have become the lover of Oreithuia if he had seen her executing, like you, a skirt dance.

This returns to the idea first recorded by Apollonius Rhodius, that Oreithuia was dancing when Boreas seized her: was it innocent play or religious ceremony? Alternatively, it could mean that Oreithuia was not dancing when Boreas saw her, and thus the fact that men should be dancing now is quite outrageous to Apollonius. The

dancing that Crato initially dislikes, and that Apollonius of Tyana rails against, is seen by both men as being immodest: Crato because he is a (stereotypical) Cynic, and Apollonius because he is disgusted that the Athenians are commemorating their heroic predecessors in such an effeminate way. Presumably the type of dancing had altered over the years - the dancing performed in Apollonius Rhodius' time would be different to the dances seen by Apollonius of Tyana; Lucian's dances are retrospective and satirical, but have their basis in a real practice. In any case, the dancing that Apollonius of Tyana objects to is apparently 'womanly' because of the way the (male) dancers wave and whirl and jig so that their clothes flutter in the air. This is more of a comment on social decline, the 'softness' of the Athenian men at this time (under Roman overlordship) when compared to the previous 'hard men' image of the Persian Wars, that they should decline so much as to dance like women. The comment on Boreas and Oreithuia is amusing if we imagine that Apollonius of Tyana is taking umbrage at a performance of the Simonides ode *On the Sea-Fight Off Artemision*, which was performed at the Panathenaea.

(vi) Myths within myths / re-telling of myths.

Here we are mainly concerned with the writings of Lucian; the Winds feature several times in his prodigious literary output, particularly in the *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods*, which provides an opportunity for the writer to re-tell a particular myth with a satirical twist. Two of the dialogues feature the Winds as speakers: Notus and Zephyrus, in 7 and 15. The two Winds are presented as gossips, with the unfortunate Notus always missing some fine sight so that Zephyrus has to give him the details. They are 'sea-gods', which are inferior to the (Olympian) gods of the other series of Lucian's dialogues; therefore the sole purpose of the Winds is to stir up the ocean at the will of the Olympians. Dialogue 7 deals with the myth of Io and her epic swim across to Egypt while she was in the form of a heifer. This in itself is an interesting story as Lucian draws parallels between Egyptian and Greek deities, equating Io with Isis-Hathor, and Hermes, who is accompanying Io, with Anubis⁵²⁹. Zephyrus tells

⁵²⁹ Hermes is generally equated with Thoth, god of knowledge. Here he is seen as Anubis, leader of the souls to judgement and god of embalming, perhaps because he is guiding Io to Egypt.

Notus some of the background regarding the affair between Io and Zeus, who is still in love with her, even though she has the form of a cow. The Winds have their orders:

Zephyrus: [Zeus has] told us that he doesn't want any rough seas, until she swims across, so that, when she has her baby there - she's expecting at the moment - both mother and child may become gods.

Notus: The heifer a god?

Zephyrus: Indeed she will be. According to Hermes, she'll have power over those at sea and be our mistress, choosing for herself which one of us to send out or stop from blowing.

Notus: In that case we'd better be attentive to her, if she's now our mistress. Then we'll be sure of her good-will.

Isis-Hathor was associated with the sky and heavens⁵³⁰, although she had no control over the Winds (Shu) in Egyptian mythology, as they are autonomous elemental beings with no fixed anthropomorphic shape. Still, given the syncretism between the different religions of the Empire by the second century A.D., and the popularity of the Isis cult, it is unsurprising that Io-Isis-Hathor should be thought of as playing the role of Aeolus.

The second dialogue (15) concerns the rape of Europa. Zephyrus tells Notus of a "magnificent pageant", the likes of which he had not seen "since I began to live and blow". Notus has once again missed out on the spectacle, so Zephyrus describes how Zeus turned himself into a bull and played upon the beach with Europa and her friends until she climbed upon his back, whereupon he swam into the sea, and was accompanied by Nereids, Tritons, Poseidon, Amphritite, Aphrodite and Erotes all the way to Crete. This dialogue has more of a feel of gossiping friends to it: Notus remarks that he's "known for ages" when Zephyrus tells him of Zeus' love for Europa. Zephyrus is also a little salacious in his details, as he describes the "pretty well half-naked" Nereids on their dolphins; indeed, the entire dialogue is coyly erotic in its overtones, with the inclusion of Aphrodite and the Erotes "singing the marriage-hymn". Zephyrus' last line in the dialogue: "But we each assailed a different part of the sea, and stirred up the waves", follows the arrival of Zeus and Europa on Crete, where the blushing girl is led off to a cave on Mount Dicte, and seems to be the literary equivalent of the cinematic surging sea symbolising sexual union. The use of

⁵³⁰ B. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, London, Routledge, 1991: 24-5.

elements in turmoil is an accepted metaphor for the sexual act: see, for example, the consummation of Dido and Aeneas' passion in a cave during a storm in Virgil's *Aeneid* IV.160ff. Another point of interest is where Notus was whilst all this was going on: "Well, I was at work about the Red Sea, and I blew also over the parts of India near the coast..." This is technically the south-east wind (also known as Eurus). Lucian, his sense of the absurd persisting, makes Notus add: "All I saw was griffins and elephants and black men". While two of these things may be found on the Red Sea littoral and in India, griffins were generally regarded as living in Scythia⁵³¹!

4.2. Who Controls The Winds?

There is some discrepancy in the sources over who controls the Winds: in some cases, they are autonomous, merely heeding the will of the Olympians out of polite consideration. At other times they are subjects of a mortal, Aeolus, or of various gods. Homer is the first to mention Aeolus, at *Odyssey* X.1-76, yet he also presents them as autonomous deities in the *Iliad* XXIII.192ff, and as servants of Poseidon and Athena, both in Book V of the *Odyssey*. Since all subsequent writers took their lead from Homer's handling of the Winds, this discrepancy exists as late as (ironically) Quintus of Smyrna's version of the Trojan War.

Taking first the issue of Olympian control, Zeus is the first and foremost deity to whom the Winds are, or should be, subservient. Zeus himself was originally a sky and weather god, a point taken up by the Presocratic Epicharmus of Syracuse, a comedian with a philosophical bent:

This is Zeus, of whom I speak, whom the Greeks call Air; who is wind and clouds, and afterwards rain, and from rain comes cold, and after that, wind, and again air. Therefore these elements of which I tell you are Zeus, because with them he helps all mortals, cities and animals⁵³².

Therefore, it is not surprising that Zeus is seen as the god who has most control over the Winds. In the *Iliad*, Zeus is depicted as sending gales and cyclones (XVI.365 and 386, respectively), both of which utilise winds; yet gales and cyclones may be considered part and parcel of the responsibilities of an almighty weather-god like Zeus,

⁵³¹ Herodotus IV.13.

⁵³² Frg. 53; in K. Freeman, *supra* n.475: 132.

whose main symbol was, after all, the lightning-bolt⁵³³. The first mention of his implicit control is in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, at II.992 and II.1099ff, when on both occasions Zeus sends out the North-West Wind and the North Wind respectively to help the Argonauts. The wording is such that it does not suggest any long-lasting control, merely a request from one god to another. A similar thing may be found in the works of the poet Theocritus, when in his *Idylls* XXVIII he writes of asking Zeus to send a “gracious wind” to blow them to Alexandria. Later poets will speak of addressing the Winds directly before a voyage or journey (see above), but here Zeus is appealed to in his role as King of the Gods and lord of all elemental weather forces. Zeus is again seen as exercising control in the issue of Leto’s safe passage to Ortygia, and taking a more personal interest in matters during Deucalion’s Flood (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.262ff), deliberately sending out the South Wind in order to punish the sacrilegious mortals. More specific control is mentioned several times by Lucian; for example, in *Ikaromenippos* 26, Zeus is spied giving

orders to the Winds and the weather, telling them what to do: “Let there be rain today in Scythia, lightning in Libya, snow in Greece. Boreas, blow in Lydia. Notus, take the day off. Let Zephyrus raise a storm on the Adriatic, and let about a thousand bushels of hail be sprinkled over Cappadocia,

and likewise, in *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 7, when Zephyrus informs Notus that Zeus has asked them not to blow on the waves while Io is swimming to Egypt, especially as she will “have power over those at sea and be our mistress”⁵³⁴. Quintus of Smyrna also mentions Zeus as the master of the Winds, writing at XII.192 of the god ascending to the heavens, “charioted upon the Winds, Eurus and Boreas, Zephyrus and Notus”. This line reminds one of the numerous descriptions in the *Iliad* which describe the gods’ horses as “swifter than the wind”, yet they are not actually Winds. Here, as elsewhere, Quintus of Smyrna is marrying traditions together, that of the old Homeric link between Winds and horses. Zeus is therefore seen as a god whose control over the Winds is undisputed, since he is both supreme Olympian deity and also god of the weather, yet his control is more passive than anything else.

⁵³³ See below, section 4.3.

⁵³⁴ Perhaps much in the same way as Aeolus, or the Dioscuri ?

Hera, Queen of the gods, plays a more active role in her control of the Winds; she uses them mainly to further her plans in meddling with the lives of mortals, especially those that she dislikes or favours. This begins in the *Iliad* when Zeus accuses his wife at XV.26 of enlisting the help of Boreas to send Hercules off-course to Cos, “scudding over the barren salt sea - you [are] always plotting miseries for my son”. Hera also send the Winds as helpers in XXI.334, when Achilles is threatened by the River Scamander. She runs to Hephaestus to ask him to burn the river, and says:

I'll drive the West and South Winds white with clouds and sweep in
from the open seas a tearing gale to sear the Trojan bodies and gear and
spread your lethal flames!

Hera also sends to Aeolus in the *Argonautica* IV.763-839 to ask him to keep back the Winds and send a gentle westerly so that her favourites, the Argonauts, may have plain sailing. She says to Iris, her messenger to Aeolus, that “I have little doubt that... Aeolus will do what I have told [him]”; she is the Queen of the gods, after all. A similar tale is told by Virgil in the *Aeneid* I.51-83, except that Hera herself visits Aeolus in person to request the use of the Winds. In this case, too, her words of command are not enough, and she offers Aeolus a bribe, the lovely sea-nymph Deiopea, as his wife; this is despite the fact that Aeolus counters Hera's words with:

Highness, your sole task is to decide what your wish is to be; and my
only duty is prompt obedience to you. I owe to you all my authority in
this little realm of mine, for it was you who won for me [Zeus'] favour.
I owe you my place at the feasts of the immortals; from you I hold my
power over the storm-clouds and over storms.

Hera does not have *carte blanche* over the Winds; all her dealings with them are a little underhand, presumably because she is tampering with deities that belong, strictly, to her husband. Unlike other deities who claim control over the Winds, like Poseidon and Rhea, Hera has no possible connection with them apart from her position as the wife of Zeus; it is this fact, coupled with her naturally cunning mind (which she has both as a woman and because of Zeus' frequent infidelities), that lead her to deal with the Winds, and especially Aeolus, in such a way. It is also interesting to note that Zeus' control over the Winds is presented as a job that has to be done, but when Hera interferes, it is the machinations of a betrayed woman that rouse the tempests.

Poseidon, surprisingly, has little mention in the literature as controlling the Winds, appearing only three times in the extant sources. One would have thought that his role as god of the sea (and of horses) would have been enough to ensure a stronger link between the two. His earliest appearance comes in the *Odyssey* V.291ff, where he spies his enemy Odysseus making his way to the land of the Phaeacians on board a raft he made on Calypso's island. Poseidon is furious:

and seizing his trident in his hands [he] stirred up the sea. He roused the stormy blasts of every wind that blows, and covered land and water alike with a great canopy of cloud. Darkness swept down from the sky. Eurus and Notus and tempestuous Zephyrus fell to on one another, and from the North came a white squall, rolling a great wave in its van.

Following this was Virgil's description in *Aeneid* I.132; Poseidon, roused by the storm loosed by Aeolus at Hera's request, comes up from the ocean depths to chastise Eurus:

So, Winds, this is the length to which your pride of birth prompts you to go? You actually dare, without my sovereign consent, to throw sky and earth into confusion, and raise these mountainous seas?

Both cases serve to show that Poseidon's control over the Winds is connected with his command over the seas, in the same way that Zeus' control is over the other heavenly elements like lightning and cyclones. This point is emphasised by Virgil, who makes Poseidon say later in the above passage: "Dominion over the ocean, sanctioned by the ruthless trident, was allotted not to [Aeolus] but to me". Still, it is odd that more was not made in mythological literature of the peculiar relationship between the sea and the wind, especially given that (arguably) the most important function of the Winds in the ancient world was in shipping and therefore trade - the link with the sea is therefore undisputed, although not capitalised upon. The only author to do so is Ovid, who merely hints at the relationship:

But if the windy power of Poseidon holds sway, and the waves shall sweep away the gods that should aid us, oh place your snowy arms around my neck⁵³⁵.

Four other deities are mentioned in connection with control of the Winds: Athena,

⁵³⁵ Ovid, *Amores*, II.xvi.27.

Rhea, 'God', and Eros. Athena's involvement is in *Odyssey* V.109; Hermes goes to ask Calypso to free Odysseus from her island, and in his preamble, the god tells the nymph that Athena sent "evil winds" against the Greeks on their departure from Troy, which scattered the fleet. These winds are unconnected to the Wind-gods named in the *Iliad*, being mere elemental forces conjured up by a goddess (who was, moreover, the favourite of Zeus). This distinction between 'proper' Wind deities and elemental forces is one that is poorly drawn in literature, with both personification and force appearing within lines of one another. Another example of this is that of Rhea in the *Argonautica*, I.1090-1095. Here, the Argonauts are delayed in their journey by bad weather. After seeing a halcyon (a nod to Aeolus), the helmsman Mopsus advises Jason to sacrifice to Rhea:

Rhea's dominion covers the winds, the sea, the whole earth, and the god's home on snow-capped Olympus. Zeus himself, son of Cronos, gives place to her when she leaves her mountain haunts and rises into the broad sky.

Rhea, also identified with Gaia, was the Titaness who married Cronos and gave birth to the major Olympian gods: Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Hades and Hestia. Her mythology is shadowy, being pre-Hellenic, but her position as mother of the gods is enough for her to assume control over everything, if we are to believe Apollonius, that her children rule. Her appearance in *Argonautica* is very much an aside; but it is interesting to note that the sacrifice must be performed on a mountain-top, a place usually equated with offerings to Zeus or to the Winds⁵³⁶.

Another mysterious deity appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I.61ff, credited with the creation of the world. He is never named, known only as 'the god'. Ovid has disposed of the earlier Hesiodic creation-myths, presenting an initial monotheistic view before the rise of the Olympians. This god creates the Winds and assigns them each a direction and quarter of the earth to inhabit, so that they will not destroy the world with their battles. The next time that Ovid mentions the Winds (I.262ff), they are under the control of Zeus and Aeolus, although the poet has given no indication of where Aeolus came from nor how he became ruler of the Winds.

⁵³⁶ See, for example, Pausanias II.12.1.

The final god to have any kind of control over a Wind is Eros, as envisaged by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses*. He rules over Zephyrus (*passim* IV-V), who carries Psyche down to the palace in the hidden valley, and also carries her treacherous sisters to visit her. As has been previously mentioned, Zephyrus is the Wind who most complements Eros, being gentle and warm; in addition, a family connection between the two gods was made by Alcaeus and was repeated by Nonnos. This was probably not at the forefront of Apuleius' mind, though, as the Wind makes a good minor plot device: Psyche, abandoned by Eros, tells her sisters individually that the god wants them to wife instead of her, and both sisters fling themselves to their death from the cliff-top, calling on Zephyrus to catch them and bring them to safety - which he does not do (V.26.7-27.2).

Aeolus, the mortal who befriended the Olympians and received the Winds to rule over as his reward for discretion, is a figure shrouded in mystery. There are, in mythology, two men named Aeolus. Both appear to be the descendants of Hellenus: one his son, the other being the son of Poseidon and thus carrying the epithet Hippotes or Hippotades (see genealogical table 4). Until Euripides' lost play *Aeolus*, it seems that the two Aioloι were perceived as separate beings despite the similarity in their stories that both had six sons and six daughters. Aeolus son of Hellenus was the father of Canace and Alcyone; the latter married Ceyx (not her brother) and they foolishly called each other 'Zeus and Hera', and were punished for their sacrilege by Zeus, who turned them into birds⁵³⁷. The children of Aeolus Hippotades, according to Homer (*Odyssey* X.1-6), were married to one another, and the only names we have belong to Canace and her brother-lover Macareus⁵³⁸. Euripides merged the two Aioloι together, making much of the issue of incest that Homer touched upon⁵³⁹, and ever after they stayed as one character. By unknown means, Aeolus is raised to a privileged position: he is confidante to the gods, and is given charge of the Winds, to free when he thinks best, or at the request of an Olympian. Mythology places the Winds in caves on an island, on top of which is Aeolus' palace; this island is named after its ruler: Aeolia. His earliest appearance is in the *Odyssey* X.1-76, where his island is described as

⁵³⁷ Hesiod frg.10a. 94-96; 10d; cf. Ovid *Met.* XI.410-748, Hyg. *Fab.* 65, Apollod. *Bibl.* I.7.4.

⁵³⁸ Euripides in Plutarch, *Mor.* 312c-d.

⁵³⁹ For a contemporary reaction to this play, see Aristophanes' *Clouds* I.1371-2 and *Frogs* I.1053.

having a wall of bronze around it⁵⁴⁰. Odysseus is welcomed by the king and stays for a month before moving on; to help him on his journey back to Ithaca, Aeolus gives Odysseus a gift:

... a leather bag, made from the flayed skin of a full-grown ox, in which he had imprisoned the boisterous energies of all the Winds... This pouch he stowed in the hold of [Odysseus'] ship, securing it tightly with a burnished silver wire so as to prevent the slightest leakage. Then, for [Odysseus'] present purpose, he called up a breeze from the west to blow [the] ships and their crews across the sea.

The Aeolus episode in the *Odyssey* is the best and most informative of all his appearances in the ancient literature regarding his own, non-mythological, sources. Later writers tended to follow Homer's example, making Aeolus custodian of the Winds and adapting his personality to suit his job, especially Ovid (as seen above: *Heroides* XI.9-14, XI.481ff, XVIII.39). Virgil is the first writer to expand on the special relationship between mortal and the gods in the conversation between Aeolus and Hera (above, *Aeneid* I.51-83), in which Aeolus acknowledges his debt to Hera for his current position; Virgil is no less elusive than Homer, as he does not reveal the particulars behind the deal between Aeolus and the Olympians - presumably nobody knew what the original myth entailed.

Valerius Flaccus, in his version of the *Argonautica*, at l.575ff retells the Winds' role in Ovid's creation story in a few lines before making Boreas spy the ship *Argo*

⁵⁴⁰ The exact whereabouts of Homeric locations remains a puzzle to commentators, and it is a puzzle unlikely to be solved to everyone's satisfaction. Various places within the Aegean, Mediterranean and outside of the Straits of Gibraltar have been suggested for Odyssean landfalls. T. Severin, in *The Ulysses Voyage* (London, Hutchinson, 1987), claimed to have successfully located all the places named by Homer as stop-off points; these were scattered about the southern Aegean, with Libya being the Land of the Lotus-Eaters, the Cyclops living to the south of Crete, and Aeolia located on the Cytheran Straits. This is the most persuasive, and indeed likely, of his arguments: the islet is today known as Ágrias Gramvousa, and it is steeply-cliffed, so that when the sun sets, the cliff-walls do indeed seem to glow bronze. As will be seen below (Appendix 4), the Cytheran Straits are extremely windy and were a cause for fear to mariners - so it would be an ideal site to place Aeolia. Severin was working on the assumption that the voyage home from Troy (based on his reconstruction voyage) did not take longer than a year, extended for poetic licence to ten years, and that Homer wrote of places he was familiar with, or had direct knowledge of. While this is possible, it is still uncertain how much of Homeric literature is based on fact; the voyage of Odysseus can well be taken as a poet's flight of fancy. However, Pliny, in *NH* III.9, wrote that Aeolia was to be found within the group of volcanic islands known today as the Lipari islands, off the coast of Sicily. Aeolia was identified with Stromboli: "the local population are reported to be able to foretell from its smoke three days ahead what winds are going to blow, and this is the source of the belief that the winds obeyed the orders of Aeolus."

sailing peacefully past Thrace en route to Colchis. Boreas, although his sons Zetes and Calais are on board the ship (not a consideration with Flaccus), immediately goes to Aeolus to ask permission to raise a storm against them. Although a new twist on the old story, in basics nothing has changed. Quintus of Smyrna mentions Aeolus in a bare dozen lines, where the Winds are elemental forces with no kind of personality, subjugated by Aeolus and trapped in the island until Iris orders them to be freed⁵⁴¹ - which is at variance with other accounts within *The Fall of Troy* where the Winds are more carefully drawn as personalities⁵⁴²; presumably it became *de rigueur* to include a reference to Aeolus when making any mention of the Winds.

To return to Homer, then: the passage in the *Odyssey* has long been seen as indicative of weather-magic⁵⁴³, with Aeolus the sorcerer who communicates with the elements, and therefore, with the gods themselves. Page, for example, quotes Frazer's seminal work *The Golden Bough* for numerous instances from throughout the world and its history of control of the winds⁵⁴⁴. Many of the people who claim to 'sell' the winds do so by trapping the winds in a bag, as Aeolus did, or by tying them into knots on a cord or piece of cloth. The control of the winds in this context is mainly connected with sailing, although farmers may have purchased such charms to ensure a good crop. Homer's audience, writes Page, would have been familiar with the Aeolus character; they would probably have seen one or two people like him in their own ports, selling their wind-charms⁵⁴⁵. He even points to the specific example of the Presocratic Empedocles, who was reputed to have captured the Etesian winds in bags made of donkey-hide in order to save a harvest⁵⁴⁶. Empedocles lived many centuries after Homer's world, but in a country driven by trade and colonisation, as Greece was, the Winds continued to be pacified and controlled by any means possible - even if it meant resorting to 'magic'.

⁵⁴¹ *The Fall of Troy* XIV.474ff.

⁵⁴² For example, *The Fall of Troy*, at I.167ff, IV.569ff.

⁵⁴³ See section 3.3.

⁵⁴⁴ D. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey*, Harvard University Press, 1973: 74ff.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid: 78.

⁵⁴⁶ Empedokles, in K. Freeman, *supra* n.465: 175.

4.3 The Theories of the Presocratic Schools.

We have already discussed the evidence in poetic literature for the supposed origins of the weather and winds, which was couched in mythological terms; now we turn to the early attempts at scientific reasoning to explain these same origins. The Presocratics trod a fine line between quasi-rationalist empirical science and mythology as they sought to define the world and its creatures in understandable terms. Although many times their reasoning was inaccurate, much of it was correct deductive thought that paved the way for the greater philosophical scientists like Aristotle and Theophrastus. We shall examine some of the more notable ideas regarding the weather and winds in a summary of this branch of Presocratic theory.

The earliest Presocratic traditions of cosmology were based on theogonies drawn from the Near East and Egypt, and as such are very difficult to understand owing to the level of syncretism between the different gods of the cultures involved. The Orphic teachings (see above, 3.2.2) held that the earth was flat and surrounded by Oceanus, while the sky was a solid hemisphere, like an inverted bowl, filled with Ether at the highest levels and Air in the lower regions. Beneath the earth lay the triple kingdoms of the Underworld - Hades, Erebus, and Tartarus. The cosmos was created by Euphrone-Eurynome (Night)⁵⁴⁷, the daughter of Oceanus and a goddess of unspeakable power, before whom even Zeus trembles (*Iliad* XIV.258). Her mate was Ophion-Cronos-Phanes, the serpent-god also known as Boreas because he sprang from the wind created by Eurynome in the void when she moved. Ophion would appear to be a Near Eastern or Phoenician deity⁵⁴⁸ and was both serpent-god and Wind-god combined into a supreme being, albeit for only a short time, until he was overthrown by Rhea and Cronos. The 'wind-borne' Cosmic Egg, born from Eurynome-Night and conceived in Ether, is the wellspring of the gods: Aristophanes parodies this cosmogony in the *Birds* 693ff, when winged Night bears the Wind-Egg, from whence sprang Eros of the golden wings, akin to the winds in his nature, who

⁵⁴⁷ G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, CUP 1983 (2nd edition): 30 (2), 31.

⁵⁴⁸ Philo Byblios ap. Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* I.10.50 (no.60 in Kirk, Raven and Schofield, *ibid*: 68). This is a common motif, snake-god versus ruler-god: Zeus and Typhon, Marduk and (snake-aided) Tiamat, the victory of the Hurrian-Hittite storm-god over the dragon Illuyanka, and Re and the dragon Apophis.

joined with Chaos and created the birds. Thus we can already see the concept of the duality of the winds: they are either a powerful force connected to fertility, or as a negative power linked with instability and darkness, as we have seen in the iconographic record above.

Serious scientific thought developed from these tentative cosmogenic ideals with the expansion of the concept of the four elements: Fire, Water, Ether-Air and Earth. The Presocratics would champion one element as being the source of the others, using it to explain the rest of the cosmological problems; thus, Anaximander and his successor Anaximenes both chose Air as their primary element. Anaximander believed that all meteorological events were caused by the wind: thunder, lightning, whirlwinds and typhoons were all derived from explosions of cloud, in which the winds were trapped (cf. Socrates' explanation of the same phenomenon at Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1.376-84)⁵⁴⁹. Anaximenes wrestled with the problem of motion but failed to explain it, saying that the winds moved because of "some unknown impulse to flow"⁵⁵⁰. Xenophanes of Colophon pointed to water being the primary source, and said that the wind came from the sea:

The sea is the source of water, and the source of wind. For neither could [the force of the wind blowing outwards from within come into being] without the great ocean, nor the streams of rivers, nor the showery water of the sky; but the mighty ocean is the begetter of clouds and winds and rivers⁵⁵¹.

Xenophanes accepted that the wind was caused by the evaporation of water, which turned into clouds, in which were imprisoned the winds; thus, Anaximander's teachings on this subject were to hold sway for some time, as later Presocratics like Xenophanes, Heracleitus of Ephesus⁵⁵², Empedocles of Acragas⁵⁵³ and Anaxagoras⁵⁵⁴ accepted and reaffirmed his ideas. Empedocles himself gained the reputation of an authority on winds following an episode in which he apparently captured the Etesian

⁵⁴⁹ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.6.7; Aetius III.3.1-2; Seneca *NQ* II.18; Kirk, Raven and Schofield, *supra* n.538: nos.129-30.

⁵⁵⁰ Pseudo-Plutarch, *Strom.* 801.

⁵⁵¹ Frg. 30 Σ Geneva, *In Iliadum* XXI.196, in Kirk, Raven and Schofield *supra* n.538: 176.

⁵⁵² Herakleitos in Stobaeus, *Eclogues* I.29.1

⁵⁵³ Frg. 53 in K. Freeman, *Ancilla to the Presocratic Philosophers*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1948: 39.

⁵⁵⁴ Frg. 19, in K. Freeman, *ibid.*: 'Anaxagoras'.

winds in bags made of donkey-hide; or, more likely, constructed a windbreak from the same material in order to save a harvest⁵⁵⁵. This story reveals a certain mindset about the early philosophers, presenting Empedocles as a cross between an eccentric and a magician, and it also shows the importance attached to the delicate natural relationship between farming and the winds (see below, section 3.5).

The next development in Presocratic philosophy was the teaching of Democritus of Abdera, who held that all things were made of atoms save for the soul, which was made of Fire. Wind was caused by many atoms gathered together in a small space, and calm air occurred when there were few atoms spread out in a large space. Amongst his many writings there is an astronomical and meteorological calendar (see fig.126) that has survived piecemeal, which is of considerable interest as it may have been used as (or in conjunction with) the *periploi*, or sailing manuals, of antiquity. However, after Democritus it was Aristotle who was the next philosopher to make any forward steps with meteorology, which, as a science, had petered out somewhat as the Presocratics found themselves returning time and again to the works written by Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes. Meteorology had become one of the lesser sciences, something that every philosopher had an opinion on, yet had no overwhelming interest in. The final view held at this point in time was the Anaximandrian concept that the winds came from clouds, and both were caused by the evaporation of water by heat. Democritus' calendar shows that people were well aware of the different types of winds, and by this late date in the fifth century, it is hard to imagine that anyone seriously believed that the winds were trapped in clouds⁵⁵⁶. Aristotle and his followers were the first to devise the wind-rose, or at least to record it on paper, as sailors must have known of this apparatus for centuries⁵⁵⁷.

⁵⁵⁵ K. Freeman, *supra* n.475: 174.

⁵⁵⁶ Hence, surely, Aristophanes' jokes against Socrates in the *Clouds*, 1.376-384.

⁵⁵⁷ R. Böker, "Winde", in Pauly-Wissowa *Real Enzyklopedie VIII* A2, 1958, 2264, believes that there was a weather station on Cape Sigeum (near Troy) which provided observations and navigational advice; plus, large harbour towns probably held navigation manuals (*periploi*) that supplied information on the winds and currents.

4.4. Meteorology within Philosophy from Aristotle to the Romans.

In Greek philosophical literature, Aristotle and Theophrastus are the two men who made the greatest headway in describing and explaining the nature of the wind. Their methods were deductive, based upon the writings of the Presocratics and their own observations, although they did also make use of fellow philosophers and colleagues around the Aegean for details of winds and weather conditions elsewhere. The Romans based much of their writing upon Greek thought, making few distinctions between localised winds of the Aegean and of the Adriatic, although this may be unfair since we have so few extant works on the subject left to us. We will begin with a discussion of Aristotle, who wrote two works that dealt in part with the winds purely as meteorological phenomena: *De Meteorologica* II.4-6, and *Problems* XXVI. It would be beyond the remit to examine every aspect of Aristotle's (mainly specious) arguments regarding the winds and their nature, so a selection will be made from the literature.

Firstly, the origin of the winds. Aristotle rejects the view of Anaximander and the other Presocratics, that wind is air:

for the same air persists both when it is in motion and when it is still. Hence wind is not 'air' at all, for then there would also have been wind when the air was not in motion, seeing that the same air which formed the wind persists⁵⁵⁸.

Instead, he says that wind is caused by 'dry exhalation' and rain by 'moist exhalation' (evaporation)⁵⁵⁹; it has a birth and a death, like a living thing, and this is caused by the sun and the moon⁵⁶⁰. There are only two winds - the north and the south - because the sun travels from east to west and does not therefore touch upon the north or south, causing a build-up of clouds so that it rains when the sun approaches, and winds blow when the sun departs from the region⁵⁶¹. The north wind comes from the north pole, but the south wind comes from the tropics, as it cannot have the power to reach from the south pole into the northern hemisphere - this is why the south wind is warm.

The Aristotelian wind-rose (compass-card; see fig.127) explained at length in

⁵⁵⁸ Ari., *Topica* IV.127a, repeated at VI.8.146b 29 and also in *Met.* I.349a.

⁵⁵⁹ Ari., *Met.* II.359b ff.

⁵⁶⁰ Ari., *De Generatione Animalum* IV.777b 32 - 778a 2.

⁵⁶¹ Ari., *Met.* II.361a, repeated in *Politics* IV.1290a 14.

De Meteorologica was used as a model for all other wind-roses of antiquity, although, as Thompson reveals, many modern models of the wind-rose are incorrect⁵⁶², being based on the directional points N, NNE, NE, ENE, E, and so forth. Aristotle's wind-rose was constructed from the position of the sun, rising and setting due east and west. North and south may then be added, and the subdivision of the quadrants to show the secondary winds must be extrapolated by the direction of that wind with reference to the sun, for example, Lips blows from the winter sunset, which is south-west. The position of the sun is determined from Athens, on latitude 38°N; thus, the Aristotelian wind-rose would alter if set on a different latitude, for example, at Rome (32.5°N). In any case, the notion of exact positions of winds is somewhat academic, given that the two types of people that would use a wind-rose - sailors and farmers - would only need rough ideas of the direction the wind would be coming from, and more importantly, they would need to know *when* the wind was coming. The wind-rose cannot describe the direction of seasonal winds like the Etesian-meltemi, sirocco and bora, or more local winds such as the leukonotoi or ornithiai. Sailors would also be travelling through many different latitudes, rendering the exact wind-rose useless; but for meteorologists and natural philosophers, Aristotle's wind-rose was highly significant, surviving with small additions (mainly names of winds - for which see Pseudo-Aristotle's *De Signis*, an account of the names and some of the properties of the cardinal, secondary and local winds) well into the medieval period.

The duodecimal classification of the winds seems to be Babylonian in origin, and Wood points to Homer as another source for its antiquity⁵⁶³: the twelve colts sired by Boreas on Erichthonius' mares (*Iliad* XX.225), and the twelve children of Aeolus (*Odyssey* X.1-76), although Homer only names the four cardinal winds in both books. It is probably a mistake to read too much into the numbers given in the Homeric epics, since in antiquity, numbers sometimes took on a particular significance - especially multiples of three.

In the *Problems*, Aristotle discussed certain questions and observations made regarding various subjects, and this is a rich source of information on proverbs (see

⁵⁶² D'Arcy W. Thompson, "The Greek Winds", *Classical Review* May-June 1918: 49-56.

⁵⁶³ J. G. Wood in *ibid*: 53.

below, section 4.8) and weather-lore connected to the winds. Some of the problems focus on the cause of different winds, for example, the Etesians:

Why do the Etesian winds always blow in their season and with such strength? And why do they cease at close of day and do not blow at night? Is this because the melting of the snow [at the north pole] by the sun ceases at eventide and the beginning of night? As a rule they blow when the sun begins to master and dissolve the ice in the north. When this begins, the 'precursor' [Prodroms] winds blow, and when it is melting, the Etesian⁵⁶⁴.

Aristotle thus concluded that Etesians are periodic because they are northerly (from the north pole) and thus closer to Greece, and because they blow in a period of still air (summer). The intermittent south winds are further away, blowing from the south pole, and they tend to rise in the spring, which is not a stable season for air masses, being full of moisture⁵⁶⁵.

As with the *Meteorologica*, Aristotle writes that the winds arrive from directions in relation to the sun, from the summer sunrise or sunset. In addition, he describes the rising and the setting of the stars (especially Sirius) as having an effect upon the weather, frequently producing a substantial change⁵⁶⁶ - this had already been noted by Democritus (see fig.126). He correctly links the equinoxes with a change in weather, observing that it brings the south-west wind and rain⁵⁶⁷; the equinoxes do indeed exert control over the weather, with the moon and sun bringing their combined gravitational pull to bear on the tides, causing them to run higher and to thus produce a greater likelihood of storms, which, along with the high tides, can be extremely dangerous to shipping. Aristotle is also correct in his suppositions for a few more of the problems posed; for example, he writes that the south wind often brings rain because it collects moisture on its journey across the ocean⁵⁶⁸. He understands the basics of convection⁵⁶⁹, and also recognises that rain is produced from a concentration of clouds⁵⁷⁰. Rather oddly, Aristotle insists that very high mountains have no wind,

⁵⁶⁴ Ari., *Prob.* XXVI.946a 10ff.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 940a 35b 8.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid, 941a 40ff.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, 942b 25-943a 4.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, 942a 29-33.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, 940b 22-30.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, 946b 33ff.

citing the example of Mount Athos as his proof: remnants of sacrifices left there one year are apparently discovered untouched the following year⁵⁷¹. This does rather strain credulity: Aristotle never went to Mount Athos to see this for himself, so possibly his informant was rather too enthusiastic in describing certain conditions. It is true that there is, at very high altitudes, less 'air' in the sense of oxygenated air, and winds are less powerful, being mainly the high-altitude Westerlies or the occasional storm - for example, in the Himalayas - but no mountain in Greece is high enough to experience these conditions. Mount Athos is 6439 feet high, outstripped by Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece, at 9570 feet; the wind can, and does, blow on both peaks. Aristotle was perhaps inclined to believe his informant by a reference from Homer: in *Odyssey* VI.32, Athena travels back to her home on Mount Olympus, a place described as

Shaken by no wind, drenched by no showers, and invaded by no snows,
[Olympus] is set in a cloudless sea of limpid air with a white radiance
playing over it all⁵⁷².

However, Aristotle could well be thinking of the Presocratic idea that held that winds came from clouds rather than from the upper atmosphere; mountain-tops are often shrouded in cloud, so it would stand to reason that there would be no wind above the clouds that create it.

Theophrastus' *De Ventis* was written around 300 B.C. to amend and replace the works of Aristotle on meteorology, primarily *De Meteorologica*, although much of the information is taken from *Problems* XXVI. In addition to Aristotle, Theophrastus also used Anaximander and Anaximenes along with colleagues based around the Aegean for his more localised information, as well as sailors and farmers. His approach was somewhat more empirical than the methodology employed by Aristotle, and he rejects the theory of dry exhalation in favour of an amended version of the Presocratic idea of the wind as air in motion, leading him to a very basic understanding of atmospheric pressure. His work on local winds and sea-breezes shows an appreciation of the systems of convection and advection; and, like Aristotle,

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, 944b 14-18.

⁵⁷² It is clear that Homer, too, was unfamiliar with Mount Olympus, which is covered with snow for most of the year around.

he was aware of the topographic changes forced upon the weather by geography, and also by orography (the study of mountains), of which his predecessor had been unaware.

Theophrastus remarks that the north and south winds are the strongest of all prevailing winds in Greece, blowing for the longest times; he attributes this to the air masses (controlled to a large extent by the sun) to the north and south, which is a fairly accurate observation⁵⁷³. Their varying strength and heat are caused by the distance they have travelled, and what kind of land mass they have passed over⁵⁷⁴, and he gives as an illustration the proverb noted in Aristotle (number 3, below in 4.8). Says Theophrastus:

North winds blow in the winter, in the summer, and in late autumn until the end of the season, while the south winds blow in winter, at the beginning of spring, and at the end of late autumn⁵⁷⁵.

This information is, of course, correct (see table 1). He notes that the west wind blows only in spring and late autumn (cf. table 2), and is both gentle and very ferocious, and can either nourish or devastate crops - hence its mixed reception in literature⁵⁷⁶. He goes on to say that the leuconotoi are a kind of southerly meltemi⁵⁷⁷, but they are more erratic and weaker because of the distance they have travelled across the sea. As for the meltemi proper, he repeats Aristotle (*Problems* XXVI 946a 10ff) in saying that they are caused by the melting of snow in the north during the summer⁵⁷⁸. He adds an interesting note in section 13 on the severity of winters on Crete, and the increased snowfall on the island; long ago, he says, the mountain slopes were cultivable, even on Mount Ida. Theophrastus is thus aware of the cooling which heralded the change from the Sub-Boreal to the Atlantic periods.

His observations on winds led him to notice that during the day, they tend to quieten around noon. He attributed this to the scorching heat of the sun taking the power from the wind. Certainly he sees the sun, and heavenly bodies, as having a key

⁵⁷³ Theo. DV 2.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid, 3-4.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, 10.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid, 38.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid, 12.

role in the control of these elements:

the sun by rising seems both to set the winds in motion and to halt them... the moon has this effect also, but not to the same degree, being a kind of weak sun. Therefore the breezes are more powerful at night and the weather stormier at the full moon. And so, when the sun is rising, the winds now rise, now abate. It is the same with the setting sun; sometimes it halts the winds, sometimes it lets loose. The question whether these things happen in conjunction, as at the risings and settings of stars, must be looked into⁵⁷⁹.

Unlike Aristotle, who gives dry exhalation as the reason for the sun's control of the winds, Theophrastus prefers not to commit himself if he is uncertain of the empirical cause. He has no such problem when he discusses 'reversed' (convectional) winds, the result of topography⁵⁸⁰. His understanding of orography is also impressive:

There also occurs a backlash of winds so that they blow back against themselves when they flow against high places and cannot rise against them. Therefore the clouds sometimes move in the opposite direction to the winds, as in the neighbourhood of Aegae in Macedonia, when north wind blows against north wind. The reason is that when the winds blow against the high mountains near Olympus and Ossa and do not surmount them, they lash back in the reverse direction, so that the clouds moving on a lower level move in reverse direction⁵⁸¹.

His knowledge of weather-conditions in the mountains, surely the result of some direct observation, continues in section 34 with an explanation of downdraughts creating squalls at sea, again an accurate observation of the phenomenon.

Theophrastus, like Aristotle, provides the reader with definite signs of the wind's approach: waves, haloes, mock-suns, an obscured moon, and shooting stars are a few of the common heavenly indicators, while dolphins, cuttlefish and jellyfish are considered as reliable harbingers of strong winds⁵⁸². His proverbs are summarised from Aristotle's explanations in the *Problems*, but he does also give credence to local sayings from around the Aegean which reflect local conditions, for example, the WSW wind at Cnidus and Rhodes brings heavy clouds and clearing weather very

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid, 16.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, 26, 28-9.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid, 27.

⁵⁸² Theo. DS 19, 40.

quickly, while the WNW wind brings clouds only, due to their directional nature⁵⁸³. We should note that Theophrastus did not include a wind-rose in *De Ventis*; as a more empirical philosopher, did he realise the limited use it had? Or was Aristotle's wind-rose considered satisfactory?

Between the advent of meteorology as a considered science with the early Presocratics through to Theophrastus, great steps were made in anemology. It is mainly the work of Theophrastus, who built upon Aristotle's findings, that contributed most to the field, and with the study of natural philosophy of Rome, there is little that can be added by way of serious research. The Roman interest in anemology and meteorology was slow to begin, and did not reach its zenith until the works of Pliny the Elder and Seneca. The Epicurean Lucretius provides a good example of the earlier use of meteorology, which in his work *De Rerum Natura* tended towards the heavily poetic rather than the strictly scientific; thus his account of the seasonal year:

On came Spring and Venus, and her winged harbinger [Cupid] marching before, with Zephyrus and Flora a pace behind him strewing the whole path in front with brilliant colours and filling it with scents. Next in place follows parching Heat, along with Ceres his dusty comrade, and the Etesian winds that blow from the north-east. Next comes Autumn, and marching beside him Euhus Euan [Bacchus]. Then follow other seasons and winds, Volturnus thundering on high and Auster, lord of lightning⁵⁸⁴.

There are no Etesians at Rome! At the end of this passage, Lucretius becomes confused by his winds; the only season he has not yet mentioned is, of course, winter. Volturnus (wind ESE-SE) is a dry wind from the landmass of Asia Minor, while Auster is the south wind. Neither feature heavily during the winter months in the Aegean. But Lucretius was not the only poet to dabble with meteorology for the sake of his art; Catullus was equally guilty, but fared slightly better on the scientific front with these lines from poem XLVI:

Now Spring brings back balmy warmth
Now the sweet gales of Zephyrus are hushing the rage
Of the equinoctial sky.

⁵⁸³ Theo. DV, 51.

⁵⁸⁴ Lucretius, DRR V.737ff.

The west wind does rise following the vernal equinox (see table 2) to blow in the spring, and it also blows from the direction of the equinoctial sunset (Aristotle, *Met.* II.6.364b), and thus Catullus rather cleverly marries poetry to science.

Vitruvius studied the winds in the hope of designing the most consumer-friendly city, which would be constructed in such a way as to exclude all draughts, thus making it a healthy place to live (see below, 4.7). His findings, collected in the *De Architectura*, include an octagonal wind-rose that follows the Tower of the Winds in Athens, built by Andronicus of Cyrrhus. This wind-rose (fig.128) utilises the sun for its calculations, like the Aristotelian model, but the result is somewhat different as the Vitruvian method relies on the shadows cast by the sun on a sun-dial rather than on the hypothetical line of the equinoctial sunrise and sunset. He adds that there are only eight winds, and this is because, following the measurement of the earth's circumference (31,500,000 paces) by Eratosthenes, it was revealed that the wind "seems to occupy... 3,937,500 paces"⁵⁸⁵. One should not, then, wonder if the wind goes through many different changes as it travels through space. He goes on to name twenty-four winds, cardinal and subsidiary⁵⁸⁶ (see table 3). Vitruvius also notes that there are convectional breezes, caused by the rising of the sun, its heat thrusting away the moisture of the night⁵⁸⁷.

Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, wrote on the causes of winds, taking as his lead both the Presocratics and Aristotle. Storms, he believed, were caused by falling stars reacting with clouds - thus creating thunder, lightning and whirlwinds⁵⁸⁸. He does not favour nor put forward any new theory on the physical cause of wind, and follows Theophrastus' observations on topography, adding his own examples of strange happenings: wherever wind can be reflected back from a solid object, like a cavern wall or a valley, echoes can be produced, and certain other peculiar things, such as:

[a cavern] on the coast of Dalmatia, from which, if you throw some light object into it, even in calm weather a gust like a whirlwind bursts

⁵⁸⁵ Vitruvius, *DA* I.6.9.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I.6.10.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I.6.11.

⁵⁸⁸ Pliny *NH* II.43.

out; the name of the place is Senta. Also it is said that in the province of Cyrenaica there is a certain cliff, sacred to the South Wind, which it is sacrilege for the hand of man to touch, the South Wind immediately causing a sandstorm⁵⁸⁹.

The coastal cavern may, of course, be open to the sea at the base of the cliff and would therefore operate as a blow-hole, cool air rushing up when high tide or heavy seas push into the base of the cavern. The sacred cliff would seem to be some local lore; hardly surprising given that Cyrenaica would be subject to sudden and brutal sandstorms, the *simoom*, throughout the summer months especially. Pliny's wind-rose is ultimately the same as Aristotle's, the slight deviance made by Vitruvius more or less ignored in favour of the original Greek model, which continued to be popular with the Romans. However, Pliny added four more winds to the list, subsidiary local winds that blow in the provinces with enough force to merit inclusion on the Roman wind-rose (fig.129).

Seneca's *Natural Questions* takes as its source the lost work of Posidonius, although he does not hesitate to paraphrase Aristotle; he writes that wind is air in motion but not in the Democritian sense⁵⁹⁰, but rather like dry exhalation⁵⁹¹ and by the Presocratic notion of evaporation⁵⁹². He attacks the notion of the *meltemi* being caused by melting snow⁵⁹³, but advances no alternate theory. His wind-rose is the Roman version of Aristotle's, with sixteen rather than twelve winds, and the names he assigns to the winds and the quarters from which they blow agrees with Pliny's work (fig.129).

Favorinus' natural philosophy is known to us through Aulus Gellius' collection of extracts from other authors, the *Noctes Atticae*. In book 2, he recounts a time when Favorinus was attending a dinner party, and he is asked where the wind *Iapyx* comes from (it is mentioned in "a Latin poem", probably Horace *Odes* I.3.4 or III.27.20). Favorinus will tell all, since "there was no general agreement as to [the]

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, II.44.

⁵⁹⁰ Seneca *NQ* V.2.1.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid, V.14ff.

⁵⁹² Ibid, V.12-13.

⁵⁹³ Ibid, V.11.1

designations, positions or number [of winds]”⁵⁹⁴. He follows the Aristotelian wind-rose in many respects, inserting Roman names in addition to Greek, and, *contra* Aristotle, maintains that there is only one true north and one true south wind while all others are variants on the east and west. He also goes on to name a few local winds, Iapyx (Apulian, from the River Iapygae⁵⁹⁵) amongst them (see table 3). Favorinus says that he has drunk rather too much to explain the Etesians, but remarks that one Publius Nigidius wrote a treatise *On Wind* in which he stated that “Both the Etesians and the annual southerly winds follow the sun”⁵⁹⁶, although the philosopher is hardly sure what Nigidius meant by this remark. One imagines that he was influenced by the thought of Theophrastus (*De Ventis* 15-17), who proposed that the sun was the main agent in the creation and control of the winds, particularly the stronger winds like those from the north and south.

Roman philosophers, then, seem to have agreed to follow the Greek model for anemology, with few changes made to the initial workings of the weather and to the wind-rose. Local winds, especially in the provinces, replaced the more local of the Greek winds (Gallic Circius instead of Greek Sciron at WNW, for example), and there seemed to be an interest in the etymology of the names of winds, something which continued until the seventh century A.D., when Bishop Isidore of Seville published his *Etymologies*, including a short section on the winds derived in the main from Pliny, although he does quote verses from Lucretius and Virgil⁵⁹⁷. It would probably be safe to say that, despite Seneca’s few complaints on credibility, the Romans were only too pleased to leave the finer workings of meteorology to the Greeks; they were more concerned with the practicalities afforded by the winds, as will be seen in the following sections.

4.5 The Winds in Agriculture and Animal-husbandry.

Winds have a limited role to play in the agricultural year, usually indicating the turn of the seasons, with Zephyrus especially considered important as the wind

⁵⁹⁴ Aulus Gellius, *NA* II.22ff.

⁵⁹⁵ See also Apuleius’ translation of Pseudo-Aristotle’s *De Mundo* 14.

⁵⁹⁶ Aulus Gellius, *NA* II.22ff.

⁵⁹⁷ Isidore, *Etymologies* XX.11.

associated not only with the spring but also the winnowing of grain during the harvest, but other winds were equally important if one was to survive the hardship and difficulties allied with farming. This was especially true of the Greek world, where individuals owned small tracts of land - the *oikos* - which would pass down through the male children. Thus Hesiod, who felt cheated because his father had had two sons and had therefore had to divide the *oikos*, advised his elder brother Perses to look to his own property and to take care of his own needs, as he can expect no help from Hesiod himself if he fails to follow his advice. This comes in the form of the poem *Works and Days*, a tract on farming and husbandry, in which we find a short account of the weather one may expect in winter:

But as for the month of Lenaeon [January-February] - bad days, ox-flayers all - take precautions against it, and the frosts which are harsh on the earth when Boreas blows... For the morning is cold when Boreas comes down. In the morning, from the starry sky to the earth, a mist extends over the wheat fields of the fortunate; it draws from the ever-flowing rivers, rises high above the earth on the wind-squall, and sometimes rains towards evening...⁵⁹⁸

This is the time to take care of the livestock and the farm - notice that Hesiod describes the north wind (the winter bora) as powerful enough to flay the hide from an ox, the largest and strongest of the farmyard beasts. Hesiod's advice consists mainly of a few well-chosen mottoes and descriptive passages on the extremities of the seasons - midwinter and midsummer - perhaps deliberately heightened to discourage the errant Perses. The autumnal winnowing (the sorting of the grain from the chaff by means of an air-current - in antiquity, the wind itself) is not mentioned by Hesiod, but by the poet Bacchylides, who wrote:

Eudemus dedicated this temple in his field to Zephyrus the richest of all winds; for he came in answer to his prayer to help him quickly winnow the grain from the ripe ears⁵⁹⁹.

Even if Eudemus is fictional, it shows the importance attached to the west wind not just as the harbinger of spring but also of autumn; Zephyrus is therefore very much an agricultural wind, linked to the crops from their fledgling growth to their harvest.

⁵⁹⁸ Hes., *W+D* 500ff.

⁵⁹⁹ Bacc., *Anth. Pal.* 6.53.

However, it is in Roman literature that a wealth of information is revealed. Varro's famous farming treatise *De Rebus Rusticis* is surprisingly silent on the winds, perhaps because this is a topic he dealt with in his (now lost) works on navigational shipping, *De Ora Maritima*, but he does state that as soon as the west wind rises, and before the vernal equinox, the land must be ploughed and vines trenched⁶⁰⁰. Between the summer solstice and the rising of Sirius, the harvest should be gathered, and the ground broken up again⁶⁰¹. From the autumn equinox one may sow the seed for next year, and any pruning must be undertaken when the west wind of autumn rises. Most of this is echoed by Virgil, particularly in the *Georgics*, although he does bemoan his blighted flowers in the *Eclogues*:

Destroyed, I've let the South wind on my
Flowers, boars into crystal springs⁶⁰².

Even as a metaphor, this shows the power of the south wind (sirocco) to ruin perfectly good blooms, a complaint echoed by Propertius at *Elegies* IV.5.62; compare this also with the effect of the south wind on vines (Pausanias II.34.3 and Horace, *Epodes* III.23). The *Georgics* is chiefly concerned with things pastoral and agricultural; at I.44 he writes "the crumbling clod breaks at the Zephyr's touch", indicating that it is time to plough the fields. He advises the farmer to "expose the upturned clods to the north wind, long before you plant the vine's gladsome stock" in early spring at II.261, although on no account should the soil be ploughed when the north wind is blowing. Soon enough, it will be harvest-time:

beneath the west wind's warm breezes the fields loosen their bosoms...
the vine-tendrils fear not the rising of the south wind, nor a storm
driven down the sky by the mighty blasts of the north wind...⁶⁰³.

Virgil also notes weather-signs that indicate strong winds and storms⁶⁰⁴, and an interesting piece of lore is recounted at III.273, the impregnation of mares by the wind, which is a very ancient belief demonstrated in Homer⁶⁰⁵ and which was

⁶⁰⁰ Varro, *De Rebus Rusticis* XXIX.1-3.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid; XXXII; XXXIV-XXXV.

⁶⁰² Virgil, *Ecl.* II.58.

⁶⁰³ Virgil, *Geo.* II.330ff.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid; I.365ff; I.444.

⁶⁰⁵ *Iliad* XX.225.

considered as semi-probable by Aristotle⁶⁰⁶:

[The mares] with faces turned to the Zephyrs, stand on a high cliff, and drink in the gentle breezes. Then oft, without any wedlock, pregnant by the wind (a wondrous tale!), they flee over rocks and crags and lowly dales, not towards the rising of the east wind, nor the sun's, but to the north and north-west, or to where rises the blackest south wind, saddening the sky with chilly rain.

There the mares excrete a fluid Virgil names as 'horse-madness' (*hippomanes*), which is apparently a prime ingredient for witchcraft and 'baleful spells'. It is doubtful that Virgil believed such a romance, but it is interesting to note that the idea of wind-fertilisation remained in circulation, at least in the realms of poetry, for another two centuries - compare Lucian's *A True Story* I.22 and Claudian's *The Rape of Proserpine* III.266ff.

Pausanias provides many insights into the rituals associated with various regions, and at Methana in the Argolid, he relates how the farmers deal with a bothersome wind that annually threatens the vines:

What struck me most at Methana was this: when their vines are in shoot the Sirocco rages in from the Saronic Gulf and desiccates the shoots. So when the wind gets up, two men take a cock with white feathers all over it, tear it in two, and run around the vines in opposite directions carrying half the cock each; when they come to the place they started they bury it there. This is the contrivance they have against the Sirocco⁶⁰⁷.

Clearly, the sirocco cannot blow in from the Saronic Gulf as this is to the north-west of Methana, and the sirocco is a southerly wind. Presumably, as Levi notes, Pausanias was writing in Athens, which does feel the slightest blast from the sirocco⁶⁰⁸, but it is far more likely that it is the north-westerly (Sciron or Argestes), which is a dry wind, and which would cause blight to unprotected young shoots at mid-spring, possibly as part of the strong westerlies coming in at this time of year in conjunction with the sea-breeze.

Lucian provides a clear example of exactly how the ancients viewed the winds in *The Double Indictment* 1, when Zeus is complaining about all the hard work that

⁶⁰⁶ Winds can influence gender; K. Freeman, *supra* n.554: 194.

⁶⁰⁷ Paus. II.34.3.

⁶⁰⁸ P. Levi in Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*, London, Penguin, 1979: 212 n.199.

the gods do for ungrateful men:

Why should I refer either to the Winds, that aid the crops and speed the ships on their courses and blow upon the winnowers...

He returns to the tricky question of wind-fertilisation in his fantastical tale *A True Story*, which is anything but what the title suggests. It is not strictly anything to do with farming, but it is still worthy of a glance as it humorously links the concept of animal and human reproduction. Lucian, in the fashion of Herodotus, tells of a voyage he made to seek his fortune. His ship was carried away by a great and mysterious wind, and he landed on the Moon, where a battle was raging between the Moonites and the people of the Sun. He describes the reproduction of the Moonites thus:

First of all, they are not born of woman but of man; their marriages are of male and male, and they do not even know the word 'woman' at all. Up to the age of twenty-five they all act as females, and thereafter as husbands. Pregnancy occurs not in the womb but in the calf of the leg, for after conception the calf grows fat. After a time they cut it open and bring out a lifeless body, which they lay with its mouth open facing the wind, and thus it comes to life⁶⁰⁹.

This is really an attack on the Greek modes of life: the tall tales of the travel writers, homosexuality within given social constraints such as age, the peculiar nascence of some of the gods (Dionysus, in this case), and of course, the philosophy of wind-fertilisation. Notice that the young Moonites are born dead; their life comes only from the wind, which teems with the souls of those already passed into the afterlife (see above, section 3.4) - this neatly attacks both the philosophical element and the homosexual, suggesting that a male-male union is sterile and needs outside support in order to generate future lives, while dismissing as a fantasy the whole concept of wind-fertilisation. Lucian's *A True Story* seems ideal to close this discussion, as his ship is whirled away to amazing realms by a great wind, so strong that it lifted the entire ship from the sea and carried it away. Such a wind may exist in the Mediterranean when conditions are right for it, but rather than carrying a boat to a wonderland, it is more likely to end a wreck on the bottom of the ocean. This, and other dangers, made the ancients aware of the wind in arguably its most important

⁶⁰⁹ Lucian, *A True Story* I.22.

role in antiquity - that of navigational shipping.

4.6. The Winds in Shipping.

For a large majority of the population of the ancient world, the winds were of vital importance in shipping concerns. This would include trade and exchange, colonisation, conquest and warfare, and journeys made for other reasons, such as exile, pilgrimage, official business, or visiting family members. To all intents and purposes, travel by sea was the only sensible method of getting from A to B in antiquity, as land routes were tortuous, slow, and subject to dangers such as brigands, animals falling ill, damaged wagons and ill-kept roads. Until the advent of the organised system of Roman roads, their upkeep paid for by the host province and built to last by the legions, the safest and quickest way to transport goods was by ship. Whilst not without its dangers (storms aside, piracy was a major problem in the Aegean and indeed throughout the Mediterranean until relatively recent times), sea-travel was more convenient for traders and had an added bonus in that ships, and their contents, could be insured against loss at sea. This, naturally enough, led to several cases of fraud as insurance was claimed against ships that had never put to sea and scarce had their keels laid.

In order to fully appreciate how important a role the winds played in affecting sea-lanes, this section intends firstly to examine the physical evidence of prevailing sea-currents, the wind and shipwreck sites, before looking at the literary record. For considerations of space, the former part of this section may now be found in Appendix 3, which also contains some of the ancient written sources.

To return to our literature, Hesiod offers some of the best and most enduring advice for the would-be mariner and trader in his *Works and Days*, telling his brother Perses (whom he suspected would try to sell his produce in order to get richer, rather than eke out an honest living from the land, as he himself advises) that he should admire a small ship by all means, but should place his stock in a larger ship in order to make more of a profit⁶¹⁰. He advises that the best time to travel is in the meltemi

⁶¹⁰ Hesiod, *W+D* 640ff.

season, for “at that time the breezes are well-defined and the sea harmless”⁶¹¹, although he does tell of the spring sailing season, which he does not trust full well. He may mean around March, before the west wind is up to its full strength and before the southerly winds begin to blow, but this is indeed a dangerous time as the seas shift and run high during the approach to, and around, the vernal equinox, which results in sudden squalls. The tail-end of the winter bora is still in evidence, depending on the strength of the air pressure to the north. Although by the Roman period it was considered safe enough to open the shipping lanes in early spring, in Hesiod’s time to undertake such a journey was a very large risk; remember, says Hesiod darkly, that “it is a fearful thing to die among the waves”⁶¹².

Horace provides many examples of sea-travel in his poems, and trade is well-accounted for. In *Satires* I.1.6 he draws a portrait of the lots of two Roman occupations - trade and warfare:

“O happy traders!” cries the soldier, as he feels the weight of the years,
his frame now shattered with hard service. On the other hand, when
Notus’ gales toss the ship, the trader cries, “A soldier’s life is better...”

Both are indispensable to the fortune of the Roman state, yet neither are good occupations to have in general. In *Odes* I.1.13, the sea around Icaria is perceived as being a dangerous place to be for the trader, particularly when the south-west wind has risen and is battling with the contrary swell, and in *Odes* III.7, Horace comforts Asterie who weeps for her lover Gyges, who will return with the west wind at the start of the spring sailing season, “rich with Bithynian merchandise”. However, even the south wind (considered by Horace as the worst of the winds judging by the number of times it is mentioned in the poems) cannot influence the merchant to stop trading and sell his ship⁶¹³.

It is Pliny who is the most scornful against the use of the winds in order to trade, seeing it as part of the moral decline of Rome; in the golden age of the Greeks, he says, men were interested in meteorology for its own sake and for the sake of knowledge, despite constant wars and troubles. But now:

⁶¹¹ Ibid: 669.

⁶¹² Ibid: 681.

⁶¹³ Horace, *Epistles* I.11.15 (To Bullatius).

Age has overtaken the characters of mankind, not their revenues, and now that every sea has been opened up and every coast offers a hospitable landing, an immense multitude goes on voyages - but their object is profit not knowledge; and in their blind engrossment with avarice they do not reflect that knowledge is a more reliable means even of making a profit⁶¹⁴.

For all the colonisation carried out by the Greeks and Romans, there is surprisingly little written evidence on this topic. The most famous (epic) account of colonisation is in Virgil's *Aeneid*, the flight of Aeneas and his Trojans to Latium to found Rome. Winds play a fairly major background role in the story, as it is the winds that wreck Aeneas' ships and lead him to Carthage, and to Dido⁶¹⁵. They bring the Trojans close to Italy⁶¹⁶, and to Sicily⁶¹⁷, and Aeneas is so desperate to resume his quest that he even leaves Dido in the middle of the winter, the most dangerous time of year to travel⁶¹⁸.

Unspecified journeys by sea appear in Theocritus⁶¹⁹, Horace⁶²⁰, and Ovid⁶²¹. In a poem by Dioscurides, Euphragus has gone as a pilgrim across the sea; his lover is impatient for his return, begging Zephyrus to blow quickly in season⁶²². Horace wishes "rank-smelling Maevius" a bad voyage, complete with all four winds attacking the ship while the Olympians ignore his prayers⁶²³, but he hopes that Virgil is carried safely by the wind Iapyx while the rest are held back⁶²⁴. He himself promises to visit his friend and patron Maecenas "along with the Zephyrs and the first swallow"⁶²⁵, in other words, as soon as may possibly ^{b2}allow^{eA} in the spring. The Acts of the Apostles includes the shipwrecking of St. Paul, *en route* to Rome for his trial⁶²⁶. His ship sailed late in the year, at the close of the sailing season, but the captain decided that it was

⁶¹⁴ Pliny, *NH* II.45.118.

⁶¹⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid* I.380ff.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid: III.514ff.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid: V.20ff.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid: IV.310.

⁶¹⁹ Theokritos, *Idylls* VII.

⁶²⁰ Horace, *Epodes* XVI.

⁶²¹ Ovid, *Amores* II.11.9ff; *Tristia* I.2.19ff, I.2.27ff.

⁶²² Dioskourides, *Anth. Pal.* XII.171.

⁶²³ Horace, *Epodes* X.

⁶²⁴ Horace, *Odes*, I.3.

⁶²⁵ Horace, *Epistles* I.7.13.

⁶²⁶ Acts of the Apostles, XXVII.13-15.

safe enough. As they sailed close to Crete, “there arose a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon”. This is a north-easterly wind (the start of the winter bora), and it eventually drove St. Paul ashore on the island of Malta, where the crew and damaged ship lay to until the spring. The dangers of sailing during the winter season are a subject dear to Theocritus’ poems, mentioned twice in some detail. The first quote is from *Idylls* VII.52-61, where the poet advises on the safest time to travel when the winter is upon the shipping lanes:

Fair sailing to Mytilene shall Ageanax have when the Kids stand in the evening sky, and the south wind speeds the wet waves, and when Orion stays his feet in the wet ocean, if... the halcyons shall lay to rest the waves and the deep, the south wind and the east that stirs the seaweed in the lowest depths, the halcyons, birds most dear to the green Nereids.

Here is the advice to trust in the power of the constellations over the winds, since, as we have already seen, there is a shift in the winds and weather when the major constellations alter their positions in the sky, setting or rising earlier or later. Theocritus pinpoints a particular period - the Halcyon Days - when the winds are supposed to drop so that the bird may build her floating nest upon the waves, but in reality, this period of calm (if it comes) may fluctuate from year to year depending on the pressure systems active over the continent. Theocritus’ timing of the halcyon days - when the Kids are at the zenith in the night sky and Orion is beginning to set - puts them at around mid February-early March, while Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* XI.481ff suggests the 15-29th December for the Halcyon Days, proving that there can be no definitive dates set for such natural phenomena. The second excerpt from Theocritus also concerns the constellations:

The two brothers born in Laconia [the Dioscuri] to Thestius’ daughter, who succour... ships which, defying the constellations that rise and set into the heavens, encounter grievous tempests⁶²⁷.

This is a reference to the Dioscuri in their role as patrons of sailors. They would appear on or near the ship as corpusant (St. Elmo’s Fire) during a storm, and this would mean that the ship would be safe from harm. Their protection was also invoked

⁶²⁷ Theokritos, *Idylls* XXII.4-22.

before voyages began, and it would be a sensible man who offered to the Dioscuri if he were to consider sailing in the dead of winter, in the teeth of the bora. Notice again the reliance placed by even a layman upon the rise and set of the constellations as a way of predicting the weather, and the warning of dire consequences should one choose to ignore, or openly defy, their power.

Warfare and conquest is the final area connected to winds and sea-travel. Timotheus, commemorating the defeat of the Persian fleet at Salamis in 480 B.C., wrote an epic poem, fragments of which remain. A Persian soldier prays to Ishtar:

Save my life, or the winds, billow-dissolving, ship-wrecking, will
destroy me with night-freezing Boreas⁶²⁸.

This, written some sixty years after the event, must have been heavily influenced by the accounts of Herodotus, Simonides and the tragic poets. However, it is one of the first in a long line of accounts of storms or contrary winds influencing battles - for example, as in the works of Livy⁶²⁹, Lucan⁶³⁰, Appian⁶³¹ and Claudian⁶³². Like Pliny, Seneca attacks what he sees as the misuse of the winds; after listing the benefits (trade, peaceful unification, farming), he then wonders if they are a blessing or a curse to the state:

Actually, Providence and that god who is the organiser of the universe did not arrange to move the atmosphere by winds and to distribute winds from all directions (lest anything become barren because of inactivity) only so that we might fill up our fleets with armed soldiers to seize part of the deep waters and only that we might seek out an enemy on the sea or even beyond the sea! What madness drives us and makes us ready to destroy one another? We spread sails to the winds intending to seek war; we endanger ourselves for the sake of danger. We risk an uncertain future, storms so violent that they cannot be overcome by any human endeavour, a death without hope of burial. It would not be worthwhile even if we were sailing to peace through these risks⁶³³.

Indeed, so expedient were the wars that the Romans fought with the aid of the winds

⁶²⁸ Timotheus, frg.791, in *Lyra Graeca* Vol.4, Loeb, tr. D. A. Campbell, 1993.

⁶²⁹ Livy XXII.43.10.

⁶³⁰ Lucan, *Civil War* IX.319ff; *Pharsalia* V.603ff.

⁶³¹ Appian, *Civil War* V.88-9.

⁶³² Claudian, *The War Against Gildo* I.510ff.

⁶³³ Seneca, *NQ* V.18.5-6.

(presumably to ensure a safe arrival at the location of battle) that it became a standard part of the military's proscribed reading by the Late Antique period: when Vegetius⁶³⁴ produced his *Epitome of Military Science*, Book IV included six chapters (38-43) on navigation, naming the winds, advising on the best times to sail, using the constellations and reading the weather, discussing the effect of tides, and the best way to attack an enemy ship - which is to strike with the beak in time with the oars, not with the wind, as this will give one's ship less propulsion. This sound advice would have been useful to Psyllus, King of Africa, who in Nonnos' account, decided to declare war upon the south wind itself in a rash and somewhat blasphemous move. It seems fitting that we should close our account of winds and seafaring with this excerpt, as it does rather prove Seneca's point that those who use the winds as an excuse to go to war are taking a terrible risk:

Notus, that hot wind, once burnt [Psyllus'] crops with parching breath; whereupon he fitted out a fleet and gathered a naval swarm of helmeted warriors, to stir up strife against the winds of the south with avenging doom, eager to kill the fiery Notus. To the island of Aeolus sailed the shieldbearing fleet; but the winds armed themselves and flogged the madman's vessel, volleying with tempestuous tumult in a whirlwind throng of concerted confederate blasts, and sank Psyllus and his army in a watery grave⁶³⁵.

4.7. The Winds in Medical Literature.

The meteorological winds were regarded as more than elements to be pacified when anticipating a good harvest or sea-voyage; they were also seen as causes of illness and disease, particularly the strongest of the winds, the north and south, which naturally had opposite effects to the other as they lay diametrically on the compass. The lore of such an effect on the health is probably very ancient, and its first tentative appearances in literature were as part of natural philosophy. The Presocratic Empedocles believed that human reproduction came about through the interplay of

⁶³⁴ Vegetius was a bureaucrat who had little or no military training; his evidence is gathered from various Latin authors, such as Varro for his information on the winds, and it is obvious that he had no Greek. We do not know which emperor he was writing for: a date between the death of Gratian (383 A.D) and 450 A.D. has been suggested, with Theodosius I (383-395 A.D.) as the strongest contender as the dedicatee of the work. See N. P. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, Liverpool University Press, 1996: xxxi-xli.

⁶³⁵ Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* XIII.378ff.

heat and moisture, with conception shared by the male and female. The child's sex was determined by whether the seed fell in a hot part of the womb (producing a boy), or a cold part (producing a girl). The first men on the earth were born in the east and south, whereas the first women came from the north⁶³⁶. This division between the warm, moist and fertile south and the cold, dry and arid north extended, naturally enough, to the winds, which carried the same qualities as the land over which they travelled. Not only did these winds carry disease, they also brought about the concept of the climate theory, which may be explained thus:

[the] climate, and the environment it controls, [can] determine the character of peoples - or, in the language of the [past] centuries, that it determines the prevailing 'humours', the nature and character tendencies of nations⁶³⁷.

While climate and the prevailing winds do indeed have bearing upon the diseases and illnesses of a country, it is somewhat less relevant to the character of a nation, and Lamb warns against the dangers to which "too popular, glib applications of the theory directly led"⁶³⁸. Climate theory began with Hippocrates, whose medical writings were so influential that they continued to be used throughout the Roman period and even into the Middle Ages; his climate theory, however, was given a renaissance in 1561 by a Dutch doctor, Levinus Lemnius, and became a popular and widespread belief until the eighteenth century⁶³⁹, but this is outside the scope of this work.

Hippocrates of Cos was born into a medical family, and his sons continued in the same profession. Although he mostly worked from home, Hippocrates also travelled around Greece, gathering medical lore as he went. Of the sixty or so works which are ascribed to Hippocrates, only a few can be said to be genuine: these include *Airs, Waters, Places* (henceforth *AWP*), and *Aphorisms*, both of which detail the effect of winds upon a person's health. *AWP* is perhaps the most interesting of the treatises, as it describes and applies the climate theory. In the later Hippocratic *Epidemics*, a

⁶³⁶ K. Freeman, *supra* n.544: 194.

⁶³⁷ H. H. Lamb, *Weather, Climate, and Human Affairs*, London, Routledge, 1989: 75.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁹ In the late seventeenth century, the *risqué* Restoration plays were seen as necessary to cheer up the English, who were naturally inclined to melancholy and spleen due to the rainy climate (*ibid.*: 77). We still hold some of these climate theory beliefs today; they would now be called 'national prejudice'.

series of casebooks on various illnesses witnessed and treated in different regions of Greece, the lore of *AWP* is put to practical use, with the attending doctor in question noting the season, the movement of the stars, and the prevailing winds before discussing the diseases prevalent at the time⁶⁴⁰. In the introduction to *AWP*, Hippocrates writes:

Whoever would study medicine must aright learn of the following subjects. First he must consider the effect of each of the seasons of the year and the differences between them. Secondly he must study the warm and cold winds, both those which are common to every country and those peculiar to a particular locality... When, therefore, a physician comes to a district previously unknown to him, he should consider both its situation and its aspect to the winds⁶⁴¹.

The physician's skill at determining these factors, plus his knowledge of what epidemics and illnesses are likely to be prevalent at specific times of the year and when certain winds blow, is enough to ensure that the doctor will not only be successful in his practice but will also remain healthy himself. Hippocrates adds that, if one should think that this was more the business of a meteorologist, then "learn that astronomy plays a very important part in medicine." Probably the best way to examine Hippocrates' findings is to deal with them in geographical location, as he does⁶⁴².

1. Region ESE-WSW (southern Mediterranean, including Crete, Syria, and Cyprus).

This is described as a region mainly affected by hot winds, being sheltered from the northerly Thracian, Vardar, and meltemi winds. This is true, although Crete and the coastal islands off southern Asia Minor (which may be included in this location) do feel the effects of the northerlies quite strongly. Hippocrates describes the water as plentiful but brackish, and close to the surface, which is a valid report: it is brackish

⁶⁴⁰ For example, *Epidemics* I.2. If a patient died, as was often the case (see I.2.9ff for deaths), then the doctor could easily blame the weather and winds of that year or season for the mortality.

⁶⁴¹ *AWP* I.

⁶⁴² The section on regions is difficult to assess, as no-one seems to know whether Hippocrates was referring to actual geographical regions by compass-point (as I have assumed, as in the Loeb translation), or by the direction the city faces in regards to the prevailing winds (as assumed by the Penguin edition). The former seems better suited to his general plan, especially considering the return to the subject in less scientific terms later in the treatise, and it would make more sense in that two towns in the same vicinity would experience the same illnesses and diseases whether they faced the east or the west wind.

because it stands, the warm winds being less active than the cold in this respect; the physician was of the same opinion as the Presocratics, that water and winds were closely connected because they were formed from condensed water (clouds) which disperse in the upper air. The link between winds and the water of a region can clearly be seen to have an effect on the health of the local population: the combination of brackish water and warm, stifling winds results in the inhabitants being full of phlegm, with poor physiques, bad digestion, and a weak appetite for both food and drink. Illness and diseases prevalent in this area include dysentery, asthma, chronic winter fevers, haemorrhoids and eczema. Women are quite often barren and suffer miscarriages. Children suffer from epilepsy, which was commonly thought to be caused by the south wind.

2. Region WSW-ENE (encompassing mainland Greece to Thrace).

This location is greater in expanse than the previous one, and these regions all enjoy the benefits of the northerly wind whilst being sheltered from the hot southerlies. Southerly winds do occur, naturally, but they are raised from the Aegean and not from the African littoral, so they carry less disease with them. The water in these regions is cold and hard, as it filters down from the north. The people are sinewy and tough, but bilious. They eat a lot but drink sparingly. Their internal organs are hard and tend to suffer lacerations and abscesses; eye inflammations and nosebleeds are also common. Women are sometimes barren because of the hard water, and childbirth is difficult. Epilepsy is rare, but when it does occur, it is a violent case; most illnesses are classified as 'acute' and tend to be severe. Again, as with the region ESE-WSW, the medical overview is both obvious and telling, the most striking point being that the men of Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace are hard, tough individuals who live longer than their weakling southern counterparts - hardly a surprising (or medical) conclusion given the number of battles successfully won by the Greeks against the other regions (for example, the Persians - see below).

3. Region ENE-ESE, facing east (Asia Minor central).

As described by Hippocrates, this region is the perfect spot for healthy

individuals. The hot and cold winds are moderate, and water is soft and sweet, purified by the sun. The inhabitants have perfect skin, clear voices, are highly intelligent, and charmingly-tempered. Although they do suffer diseases like the other regions, they are less serious and more of a rare occurrence. Women are fertile and childbirth is easy. This location is the interior of Asia Minor - whether Hippocrates was thinking of the Phrygian hinterland or closer to the coast, around Pergamon, makes little difference - but one would imagine that Phrygia is closer to the description given: moderated winds and temperatures are most often experienced in the interior rather than on the coast of a country.

4. Region ENE-ESE, facing west (Asia Minor littoral).

This is the most unhealthy region, being exposed to warm westerlies and hot southerlies. The cleansing northerlies do not reach these regions. Heavy dew (indicative of a coastal location) in the morning dissolves the water and saps its goodness; after the dew has risen, the heat is scorching all day until the night, when it becomes very cold. Such extremes of temperature, combined with the sickly effect of the two hot winds, make the inhabitants pale and weak, and they subsequently catch every disease going, and have deep, hoarse voices as a consequence of breathing the stifling air.

These general indications of health in relation to winds and locations of a particular region are followed by some observations on seasonal change, most of which are based on meteorological lore: for example, bad weather at the rising of Sirius and the beginning of the meltemi will usually blow itself out by autumn, so that it will be a healthy season. The turn of the seasons, and the rising and setting of stars, was a crucial time for health matters:

The most dangerous times are the two solstices, especially midsummer, and the equinoxes. Both of these latter times are considered dangerous but more especially the autumnal one. Care must also be taken at the rising of certain stars, particularly the Dog Star and Arcturus. Similarly, discretion must be exercised at the setting of the Pleiads. It is at such times that the crisis is reached in the course of diseases; some prove fatal and some are cured, but all show some kind of change and enter a

new phase⁶⁴³.

The importance of these times is significant. One may reasonably expect an illness to change its course over a period of duration longer than one season, but the rising of Sirius (28th July), of Arcturus (early September), and the setting of the Pleiads (around the 10th November) are all significant for winds and for sailing. Sirius' rising ushered in the start of the meltemi proper, after a fortnight of the prodroms, and this lasted roughly until the rising of Arcturus. The setting of the Pleiads marked the advent of the winter bora, and thus the end of the 'safe' sailing period. Certainly a sickness can be exacerbated by the onset of colder or warmer weather, particularly if the sufferer cannot stay indoors, and periods of high or low barometric pressure can also irritate an illness if it is a seasonal 'flu or head cold. Possibly Hippocrates was thinking of the body's flux (the four humours: phlegm, blood, yellow bile and black bile) as responding to the change in atmosphere; in any case, there is some truth in what he writes of seasonal change.

AWP closes with a brief examination of more specific geographical locations, to prove the points set out above, and to show how, through his climate theory, the races of Asia and Europe are fundamentally different (XIIff):

1. Asia (Asia Minor and the Persian domains) is a fine land with moderate temperatures, good harvests, healthy inhabitants, fertile land and good water. But because the population does not suffer from extreme temperatures, they become indolent and cowardly: "Where there is always change, men's minds are roused so they cannot stagnate"⁶⁴⁴. This idleness is also attributed to the fact that Asia is ruled by monarchs - "even if a man be born brave and of stout heart, his character is ruined by this form of government" - self-rule, in the Greek democratic mode, is to be preferred!
2. Egypt and Libya were also dealt with by Hippocrates, but unfortunately these passages are no longer extant. However, one might reason that his opinion was not a good one, as both countries lie directly in the path of the hottest of the southerly winds, the sirocco and simoom.
3. The next section considers the people of the Balkans. Hippocrates, in a turn worthy

⁶⁴³ *AWP* XI.

⁶⁴⁴ *AWP* XVI.

of Herodotus, discusses the tribe of the Macrocephali, who only produce children with long heads. The Phasians are fat and jaundiced, on account of there being prevailing southerlies and a very weak northerly wind in their area.

4. The Scythians are also described in Herodotean fashion, with Hippocrates telling of the Scythian women riding horseback in war until she has killed three enemies, after which time she may marry. The women also remove their right breasts. These Amazons are tough because of their proximity to the north wind, and distance from the southerlies. Yet, the rest of the Scythians are weak, effeminate and impotent, because they wear trousers and ride horses all the time. They have a thick phlegmatic constitution and tend to run to fat, because of the cold in the north below the Rhipaeon mountains, supposedly the source of the north wind.

5. The rest of Europe is described in a similar way to Scythia: some regions are good, some are bad. The Greeks are of good constitution, since their land is bare when compared to the fertile soil of Asia, and the temperatures are more extreme, hot in summer and cold in winter. In this climate, Hippocrates says men

...are by nature keen and fond of work, they are wakeful, headstrong and self-willed and inclined to fierceness rather than tame. They are keener at their crafts, more intelligent, and better warriors⁶⁴⁵.

Hippocrates ends his treatise by telling his student that, "if you draw your deductions according to these principles, you will not go wrong". Is this the case? *AWP* XII-XXIII does rather smack of the armchair historian copying tales and prejudices from Herodotus and other travel writers. Hippocrates was known to have travelled throughout mainland Greece, but he probably did not go as far north as Scythia. There is a story that he was invited by Artaxerxes to Persia, to cure his people of the plague, but Hippocrates refused since Persia was an enemy of Greece; so it is unlikely that he travelled much in Asia. As a native of Cos, he would have been familiar with the climate of that littoral; his praise of the interior must have been second-hand⁶⁴⁶. The ancient prejudice against monarchies is raised and cited as a cause of the weakness of

⁶⁴⁵ *AWP* XXIV.

⁶⁴⁶ If Hippocrates is writing about Persia and those parts of Asia, then he may have the Fertile Crescent in mind, an exceptionally fertile area watered by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. This is a place he cannot have visited in person, but knowledge of the region was widespread.

the Asians, a complaint as old as Herodotus, if not older.

The second genuine work of Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, is dated to 451 B.C. It is a summary of all his treatises, possibly collated by the man himself then added to by later physicians. The authority of the *Aphorisms* was immense, and “unquestioned until the breakdown of the Hippocratic tradition”⁶⁴⁷. The condensing of so much medical lore into a single volume obviously meant that things were simplified, and the sole section on winds amounts to a few lines at III.5:

South winds can cause deafness, dimness of vision, heaviness of the head, torpor, and are relaxing. When such winds prevail, their characteristics extend to sufferers from illnesses. A north wind causes coughs, sore throats, constipation, difficult micturition accompanied by shivering, pains in the sides and chest; such are the symptoms one must expect when this wind prevails.

Here are the main symptoms of an illness caused by the north and south winds; both are fairly obvious, being either because the wind is too hot or too cold. Now, although northerlies or southerlies usually keep their inherent hot or cold temperatures, they do also change: southerlies especially can be cool winds, depending on where they originated and how much water they have travelled over. The west and east winds, too, carry disease, although they are not mentioned in the *Aphorisms*, presumably because these winds are not considered as powerful in their influence as the north and south.

The Hippocratic *Regimen of Health* discusses in a little more detail just how winds can affect illness. There is also a paragraph on the nature of winds; both start from the poles, icy, frozen places, and travel north and south. Where the north wind passes through regions that have little sun, the south wind passes through countries with great heat, so that the moisture from the snow and ice that the wind carried when it began its journey evaporates, turning it into a hot wind. This is now dangerous:

These winds, not having a place whence to draw nourishment, and attracting moisture from living creatures, hurt both plants and animals. The winds which pass over mountains to reach cities do not only dry, but also disturb the air that we breathe, and the bodies of men, so as to engender diseases⁶⁴⁸.

⁶⁴⁷ Introduction to Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, tr. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb, 1928: xxxiii.

⁶⁴⁸ Hippocrates, *Reg.H.* II.38.

This is slightly contrary to Hippocrates' original ideas, that the south wind and other hot winds caused not so much dryness but an over-abundance of moisture in the body. The north wind, being so cold, caused internal dryness. The author is working from the premise that hot winds generate heat, which is damaging to every living thing. While this is true, especially on the African continent whence these southerlies originate, the wind that Hippocrates was no doubt thinking of (and would have had experience of on Cos) was the sirocco *after* its journey across the southern Mediterranean, which is wet, misty and muggy, bringing weather that would indeed incubate illnesses.

The Sacred Disease is a Hippocratic work dealing with epilepsy. Ancient medical practitioners traced the cause of epilepsy to the swelling of the brain, and 'cured' it in appropriate ways, with trepanation thought of as ideal for more severe cases. In *The Sacred Disease* XVI, the author discusses how the winds exacerbate the suffering of the victim. The north wind is good, as it separates (by contraction) turbid and moist air, so that the air remaining is clear and healthy. The south wind, however, contrives to do the opposite: it dissolves the air and makes it thick and heavy. Everything feels the effect of this wind, even pottery vessels that have liquid stored in them, because the south wind has influence over anything that holds moisture. This includes humans:

Since, then, it... makes a body feel its effects and change with the changes of these winds, of necessity a south wind relaxes and moistens the brain and enlarges the veins, while the north winds press together the healthiest part of the brain, separating the diseased and moist, and washing it out; for which reasons the fluxes occur at the changes of these winds⁶⁴⁹.

Again, this repeats the original Hippocratic lore of *AWP* rather than the slightly more confused lore of the *Regimen of Health*. The author maintains that epilepsy is easy to cure once the causes are known, but it is doubtful whether a sufferer, if removed from a location with prevailing southerly winds to a colder, more northerly clime, would be any better for the move.

⁶⁴⁹ Hippocrates, *The Sacred Disease*, XVI.

Aristotle added his own views on medicine and climate, closely following Hippocrates. Neither man commented on the effect of temperature, climatic or otherwise, on human gestation, although Aristotle did write on the reproduction of sheep:

...if [the ewes] submit to the male when north winds are blowing, they are apt to bear males; if when south winds are blowing, females. Such as bear females may get to bear males, due regard being paid to their looking northwards when put to the male⁶⁵⁰.

This obviously disagrees with Empedocles' original premise that males are begotten from the south and females from the north; Aristotle doubtless followed the Hippocratic tradition that states that the cold, dry north begets strong individuals and a more powerful breed of citizen - after all, Greece (ruled by men) lies to the north, whereas the south begets weak, insipid and womanly people who need monarchs to rule them. This complete medical *volte face* probably has political reasons which may be traced to the end of the Persian Wars and the backlash of the Peloponnesian War, when Hippocrates was writing.

In *Problems* I, Aristotle addresses questions raised on medical matters, particularly those points which Hippocrates did not fully answer himself, such as

Why is it that the changes of the seasons and the winds intensify or stop diseases and bring them to a crisis and engender them?

The answer is simple: a balance must always be struck between opposites - hot and cold, dry and moist - and disease is caused by an imbalance in these qualities. A cold disease in a cold season is bad for the health, as the cold in the body is exacerbated by the external temperature; a cold disease in a warm season will pass off quickly, because the correct balance can be restored. When the constellations rise and set, especially the major groups like Orion, Arcturus and the Pleiads, the winds change and bring rain. Someone suffering from a cold disease in a warm season may die if the weather changes to become cold again, so the track of an illness must be carefully observed during these times⁶⁵¹. Like the Hippocratic *Epidemics*, Aristotle offers the

⁶⁵⁰ Ari., *HA* VI.574a 1.

⁶⁵¹ Ari., *Prob.* I.859a 29.

reader a short description of what illnesses one may expect following certain types of weather: for example, if the winter was rainy with a prevailing southerly wind, and the spring was dry with a northerly wind, then the spring and summer will be unhealthy because the warm moist earth of the winter was congealed by the cool spring, making for an excessively dry summer, which melts the phlegm within the body. It usually follows, then, that a pregnant woman may lose her child, old people will suffer apoplexy, and everyone else will get sore throats, humours, excess bile, catarrh, and dysentery⁶⁵². Then, between the rising of the Pleiads to the start of the blowing of the west wind, Aristotle warns that old people, and those who are very ill, will die because of an excess of heat and cold⁶⁵³. This happens to be a very long period of time - summer through to the vernal equinox - so naturally one may expect drastic changes in temperature, and subsequent mortalities.

Theophrastus took his lead from Aristotle, to the extent of quoting almost directly from the *Problems*. For example, in section 56 of *De Ventis*, he writes about the degenerative effects of the south wind:

...strength and power are located in our joints. These become slack under the influence of the south wind; this viscous fluid in the joints becomes solidified and interferes with our moving.

This is taken almost wholesale from Aristotle's *Problems* I.862b. He goes on to repeat the by-now standard lore that south winds moisten and dissolve, while north winds dry and harden; that south winds, being warm and moist, bring fever, and that rain, particularly from the north, has a cooling and therefore beneficial effect to the health⁶⁵⁴.

The Hippocratic maxims continued into the Roman period. Vitruvius wrote on the effect of the winds on health in his *De Architectura*. At the beginning of his chapter on winds, he cites them as a cause of ill health, and advises on the placing of city walls, so that the winds are shut out of the alleys, "for if the winds are cold they are unpleasant; if hot, they infect; if moist, they are injurious"⁶⁵⁵. Vitruvius goes on to

⁶⁵² Ibid: I.860b.

⁶⁵³ Ibid: I.861a.

⁶⁵⁴ Theophr. *De Vent.* 57-58.

⁶⁵⁵ Vit. *De Arch.* I.6.1.

provide the example of Mitylene on Lesbos; this town, although beautiful to look at, had no care nor proper planning taken in its location:

For in this city when the south wind blows, men fall ill; when the north-west they cough; when the north, they are restored to health; but they cannot stand in the alleys and streets because of the vehemence of the cold⁶⁵⁶.

Vitruvius continues by relating the various types of illness to be found in such regions as a result of the wind: cold in the windpipe, coughs, pleurisy, phthisis, and the spitting of blood. Bad prevailing winds also exhaust the strength of the invalid, which will of course make them worse rather than better. He suggests that the location and construction of a town must be undertaken only after such things have been considered, and that to exclude the winds from the town will lead to a healthy atmosphere, because

a smooth thick air which is free from the passage of draughts and does not move backwards and forwards, builds up [the invalid's] limbs by its steadiness, and so nourishes and refreshes those who are caught by these diseases⁶⁵⁷.

This shows, very clearly, the influence of the Hippocratic tradition: the illnesses are what may be expected from the lore in *AWP*, although it does seem that Vitruvius, through his good intentions (if they were ever followed, which is doubtful), would in all probability make an entire city ill if the wind was excluded totally, as he suggests above. Doubtless his idea for such a scheme to reduce draughts came from the Hippocratic notion that moderate climes with no sudden extremes of cold or hot winds produced the most healthy people.

The constant in the Hippocratic tradition, of the north wind being good and the south bad, reverses when it comes to the practice of oneirology, or the interpretation of dreams. The most complete dream-book to have survived from antiquity is the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus of Daldis in Lydia. He was a professional dream-interpreter of the second century A.D., during the time of the Antonine emperors, and was roughly contemporary with Galen, Appian, and Ptolemy of Ptolemae. The

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid: I.6.3.

interpretation of dreams enjoys a long history and was once considered a serious science; it was popular in Classical Athens (Antiphon the Sophist was considered by Artemidorus as quite an authority on squids in dreams), and also in Macedonia, where both Philip II and Alexander the Great employed Aristander to interpret their dreams⁶⁵⁸. Originally, they were believed to have been sent by the gods - for example, a man guilty of some crime may dream of being caught or punished - the will, and the intent, of the gods was thus revealed. Artemidorus was a rational man, and his approach to his subject was more scientific than that of his predecessors; he did not address the question of whether they were divine in origin, but concentrated on the dreams themselves. It was common practice to take into account the employment of the dreamer, but Artemidorus also insisted on asking about the habits and attitudes of the dreamer prior to sleep. He also advanced the theory of what Freud would later term 'the day's residues', which is when the sleeper has dreams that incorporate features of the previous day's activities, albeit somewhat muddled up.

Dreams are rarely what they seem; most, if not all, of the objects and situations that we dream of are symbols of other things. Many of these are obvious, some are less so; they also change their meaning, depending on the habits and customs of the dreamer - what is considered bad in one location will be considered a good omen elsewhere, and Artemidorus advises that this be taken into account before an interpretation is offered. The *Oneirocritica* is organised into sections which describe different symbols and their variants according to class: dreams about gods, therefore, also include what specific gods mean, and what dreaming of making love to, worshipping, or killing the gods means. There is a section devoted to weather, which is one of the easiest of symbols to read, since in this case, what you see is what you get. Artemidorus writes of the winds:

Winds that blow softly and quietly are auspicious. Winds that are boisterous and violent signify men who are unpleasant and brutal. Tempests and whirlwinds portend dangers and great disturbances. One must also bear in mind that winds that obscure the lower atmosphere mean bad luck for all men; they are only good for those in hiding. But winds that cause clear weather signify just the opposite. For those who are awaiting the return of travellers, winds that blow from the regions where they are travelling means good luck, but winds that blow in the

⁶⁵⁸ Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika*, tr. R. J. White, New Jersey, Noyes Press, 1975: 6.

opposite direction signify that the travellers will be detained⁶⁵⁹.

The “winds that obscure the lower atmosphere” is taken from Aristotle, and refers to the north-easterly wind Caecius and the southerlies⁶⁶⁰, all of which bring lowering clouds into the Aegean. This is all very straightforward, probably because few people dream of winds as the central focus of the dream; winds and weather usually feature incidentally and set the tone, supporting other, stronger, symbols. Artemidorus also writes of the appearance of the Dioscuri :

The Dioscuri symbolise bad weather for those at sea, and for those on land, they symbolise quarrels, lawsuits, war, or grave sickness⁶⁶¹.

These deities have some minimal control over the winds and storms at sea, and are the protectors of soldiers in battle, so one would think that to dream of them would be favourable. But sometimes in dream-symbols, a good thing can stand for an ill-omened thing, and vice versa: thus the opposite nature is revealed and warns the dreamer.

This, then, is the extent to which the winds were written of in the medical corpus; seen as causes of illness, the Hippocratic tradition nevertheless has no suggestions for combating their power; this is left for Vitruvius, whose suggestions would most likely hinder rather than help the health of invalids. Artemidorus’ wind-symbols in dreams display the same interpretation as one would attribute today, with bad winds meaning ill-luck and good winds meaning good fortune, although there is some typical dream-reversal in the appearance of the Dioscuri . The winds, despite all the advances made in medical science between the Classical and the middle Imperial periods, are still vast, mysterious forces that cannot be controlled as easily as one may hope or expect.

4.8. The Winds in Locution.

Our final section is concerned with the way that the winds are literally presented, or represented, in the remainder of non-specialist ancient literature: stories, poems, proverbs, sayings, and fables. The wind, as such a powerful force of nature,

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid: II.36.

⁶⁶⁰ Ari. *Met.* II.6.364b; *Prob.* XXVI.1 (Kaikias) and XXVI.24ff (southerly winds).

⁶⁶¹ Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika*, II.37.

may often be employed as a metaphor or simile, particularly when violent passions are aroused, such as those in love (or hate), or in battle. The power of the wind as something to be beaten, tamed or challenged attracts comparisons with leaders - victorious sportsmen, consuls, or emperors, for example. The nature of the wind is something that everybody could relate to, which is why there are a proliferation of proverbs, fables and sayings recorded as a testament. Here we shall examine a few ways in which the wind made its presence felt through words alone.

(i) Proverbs and Sayings.

A proverb is a short saying that is applicable to general use, and has some degree of accuracy or truth, for example, "Don't count your chickens before they're hatched". Weather proverbs are not peculiar to one location - they are common the world over, and are based on local lore. The famous English proverb "Red sky at night, shepherd's delight; red sky in the morning, shepherd's warning" is one such piece of lore attributed to the shepherds, who would be out in the fields at dawn and back again at dusk and would well be able to observe the changing weather conditions, spotting the signs of bad weather to come. The proverbs that Aristotle collected are fairly accurate, like many English proverbs connected to the weather. There are six that appear for discussion in the *Problems*:

1. "Drawing it to himself as does Caecius clouds" (XXVI.940a, cf. *Met.* II.6.364b 13). This refers to misers, hoarding their money and figuratively holding it as close as the NE-ENE wind Caecius holds the clouds, which is apparently the result of the wind descending from higher regions and collecting, and pushing forwards, clouds. This wind at Athens is, effectively, the fallwind of the Hellespontian bora, which does indeed gather clouds as it travels from the Black Sea through into the Aegean. It is less powerful than the Vardar bora, which strikes the central Aegean with rather more force than its Euxine neighbour, and as a result of the collection of clouds from the expanse of water it has travelled across, Caecius does tend to be a very rainy wind also, whereas the originally land-based Vardar bora travels less of a distance across the Aegean and so tends to be a 'dry' wind.
2. "Boreas at night does not survive to the third day" (XXVI.941 a 20). Northerly

winds that gust at night are weak, and will blow themselves out if they continue for some time. The seasonal northerly winds tend to be daytime winds, dropping to a dead calm by late evening - particularly the meltemi winds, which would only blow at night during freak conditions or a storm. These conditions would quite naturally not last beyond three days unless it was a particularly severe storm, which would be unusual. Localised winds may appear at night, their force dictated by topographical features and the heat of the preceding day; thus, a strong northerly local wind may not be as powerful the next night, should there be a difference in temperature during the day.

3. "It is good for sailing when the south wind begins and the north wind dies down" (XXVI.942b; cf. 945a 29). This is explained by the fact that the north wind is closer to Greece and blows strongly before petering out, while the reverse is true of the south wind, which begins softly and ends violently. Whenever this situation occurs (at the end of spring, after the winter bora and before the meltemi; and in autumn, after the meltemi and before the bora), the sailing season is open, and shipping lanes are safe to travel.

4. "If the south wind summons the north wind, winter is upon us" (XXVI.945a 38), and

5. "If the north wind finds mud, winter is upon us" (XXVI.945b 2). Both of these proverbs refer to the fact that the south wind is a wet, rainy wind (hence creating mud); Aristotle says that if the north wind, being cold, meets the south wind, the former will freeze the latter, thereby producing winter. Perhaps he envisaged the cold freezing front of the north wind colliding with the warm, occluded southerly front to create hail or snow, weather expected of the winter-time. The meeting of the north and south wind would indicate an unsettled front brought about by shifting air masses, perhaps reflecting a change of season; this would bring rain-storms (and mud) and would be typical of a late Greek autumn (November).

6. "Never fear the cloud which comes from the mainland in winter, but beware of the cloud from the sea, and in the summer from the dark mainland" (XXVI.947a 6). This is a proverb that can be explained by the process of convection: the land is cool during winter, while the sea is warm - thus, a cloud from the mainland holds no danger of a

storm for those at sea as the sea-breeze is against it, whereas a cloud from the sea is far more dangerous and likely to indicate a squall. Likewise, during the summer the land is warm while the sea is cool, so clouds from the mainland are more likely to carry storms and strong downdraughts of wind than those from the sea.

Aristotle also includes three pieces of weather-lore. The first is a variant of the English proverb "Red sky at night, shepherd's delight...", indicating that a clear sky of an evening makes for good weather the following day, while an unsettled sky indicates bad weather in the morning⁶⁶². Shooting stars are also said to be a sign of a coming wind⁶⁶³. Aristotle believed that meteors were pushed along by the wind in the upper atmosphere; however, in order to see a shooting star the sky must be clear and cloudless, which happens most often during the summer, when the strong winds (meltemi) are prevalent during the day but not at night. The final piece of lore is that seeing spider's webs blowing about is a sign of winter⁶⁶⁴; this is because

after the rain and storm [of autumn] the movement of spiders is considerable, as they work in the calm weather because they do not appear in the winter. For this insect cannot bear the cold. So when they are blown about by the wind, they spin a long thread.

Spiders⁶⁶⁵ are more active in the autumn as they prepare for shelter in winter, and if their web is destroyed by the wind, then naturally they will quickly make another. This is an interesting piece of lore as it is based upon the reactions of another creature (other than human) to the onset of a change in weather, something that Theophrastus returned to in some detail⁶⁶⁶.

A seemingly popular saying in antiquity was that one should 'throw one's words to the wind', particularly after a disagreement. Gods have a habit of ignoring prayers, or parts of prayers, using the same method - the wind caught the words before they could hear the full plea. Examples of this may be found in Homer at *Iliad*

⁶⁶² Ibid, 941a 1-19.

⁶⁶³ Ibid, 942b 17-19.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid, 947a 31ff.

⁶⁶⁵ Spiders are apparently reliable indicators of weather. An old English proverb says "If a spider spins its web by noon, then fine weather is coming soon."

⁶⁶⁶ Sea birds are also considered (with good reason) to be harbingers of storms and other changes in weather, as they will seek out land if a heavy squall is in the offing. See Ari., *HA* 597b 9-13; Hesiod *W+D* 448-51, 568ff; Aristoph. *Birds* 594-7; Aelian *On Animals* VII.7.

V.964, Ares' pledge thrown to the winds; IX.630, anger is cast to the winds; XIV.126, the lust for battle is cast to the winds; XXII.550, Andromache throws her regalia to the winds after the death of Hector; Euripides' *Trojan Women* 1.419: "Throw [my words] to the running winds to scatter!"; Propertius' *Elegies* I.16.34: "My words fall unheeded on the night wind"; and also IV.7.22: "Alas for the troth you plighted, whose deceitful words the south wind, unwilling to hear, has swept away!"

(ii) Fables.

This type of writing is quite rare in antiquity, its only proponents being Aesop (6th century B.C.) and Avienus (4th century A.D.). A fable is a short story with a moral didactic message that assumes that the audience is aware of certain accepted beliefs about the natural world and its animals - so foxes are cunning, donkeys are foolish, etc. The north wind features in two of Aesop's fables, chosen for its strength and power, and pitted against some unlikely rivals:

A reed and an olive tree were disputing about their strength and their powers of quiet endurance. When the reed was reproached by the olive with being weak and easily bent by every wind, it answered not a word. Soon afterwards the north wind began to blow. The reed, by letting itself be tossed about and bent by the gusts, weathered the storm without difficulty; but the olive, which resisted it, was broken by its violence⁶⁶⁷.

This scenario, of the weak being moved by the mighty, was later used as a metaphor by Lucan when describing the wavering loyalty of the Italian towns caught between the armies of Caesar and Pompey (see below). The second fable is one of Aesop's best-known:

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, and agreed to acknowledge as the victor whichever of them could strip a traveller of his cloak. The North Wind tried first. But its violent gusts only made the man hold his clothes tightly around him, and when it blew harder still, the cold made him so uncomfortable that he put on an extra wrap. Eventually the Wind got tired of it and handed him over to the Sun. The Sun shone first with moderate warmth, which made the man take off his top-coat. Then it blazed fiercely, until, unable to stand the heat, he stripped and went off to bathe in the nearby river⁶⁶⁸.

⁶⁶⁷ Aesop, *Fabulae* 141.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid: 143.

This familiar tale was the subject of a joke aimed at Euripides by Sophocles, suggesting that the fables were widely popular even amongst those who might consider themselves as the intellectual elite. It is said that Sophocles was robbed of his cloak while outside the city walls with a youth, and Euripides laughed at him, saying that he too had had relations with the boy but had not paid any bonuses to him. Sophocles' reply alludes to Euripides' practice of adultery:

Helios it was, and not a boy, Euripides, who by his heat stripped me of my cloak; but with you, when you were embracing another man's wife, Boreas consorted⁶⁶⁹.

Avienus was a Latin writer who attempted to collate Aesop's fables with others that he had collected, which included this take on the adage 'Pride comes before a fall':

An earthenware potter made a great pot, which he set in the sun to dry. Along came the North Wind, and when the Wind saw the pot, he said to it, "Who are you?" And the pot replied, "I am a pot, the best-made that men can find, and none may let any harm come to me." Said the Wind, "And how? For you are still soft, and have neither virtue nor force, and because of your great pride, I will break you and shatter you into pieces, so that those of great pride may learn that the feeble ought to be meek and humble, and must not puff himself up more than he ought, and then he will not fall from high to low"⁶⁷⁰.

This collection of fables was one of the first books to be printed by William Caxton, and they still endure today. The timeless qualities of the fable appeal because the characters that inhabit them are fixed in our minds: the north wind is considered to be the strongest of winds throughout Europe, which is why such stories can cross spatial and geographical boundaries with ease.

(iii) Panegyric.

The writing of praise literature is not confined to the late Roman period, when a multitude of such works abound in favour of the many emperors that made up the Tetrarchy and beyond, to the collapse of the empire. It was also known in the Hellenistic period, although one would have to be a god or Eastern potentate to

⁶⁶⁹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIII.604.

⁶⁷⁰ Avienus, *Fabulae*: "The North Wind and the Earthenware Pot".

deserve such glory. One way in which the dedicatee was praised was to be referred to as having power or control over nature, the allegory for power over nations (see the iconography section also, 2.3.iv), and winds were often the accepted element employed. A good example of this is Callimachus, who writes in praise of Apollo:

Walls and stars may fall before the blast of Strymonian Boreas, but a god is unshaken forever⁶⁷¹.

The falling stars are a reference to the Aristotelian concept that the wind caused meteors to drop from the sky. The north wind is often chosen as a focus for these writings because, as we have mentioned before, it is believed to be the strongest of all the winds that blow. To the Romans, the south wind was also a consideration as it was this wind that affected much of their shipping when on voyages to the eastern or southern provinces, so to be sure of success, a panegyrist would include references to both north and south winds. The more tentative praise of emperors such as Maximian (impelled by some “favouring breeze” to steer the ship of state⁶⁷², saving Rome in such a way that all of nature becomes calm after the turmoil⁶⁷³) becomes more adulatory for later figures like the emperor Honorius:

Thanks to your influence, the wind of the frozen north overwhelmed the enemy’s line with his mountain storms, hurled back their weapons upon the throwers and with the violence of his tempest he drove back their spears. Truly God is with you, when at your behest Aeolus frees the armed tempests from his cave, when the very elements fight for you and the allied winds come at the call of your trumpets⁶⁷⁴.

Claudian, the writer of the above panegyric, was an accomplished praise-writer who wrote several pieces for Honorius and also for the consul Stilicho, who was possibly one of his patrons, given the number of dedicated works he wrote for him. The first tells of how Stilicho controlled the north wind, bringing Boreas “into servitude without one blow”⁶⁷⁵, then later he has Rome speak, telling the audience how, since Stilicho became consul, “now the rainy south wind and now the north wafts grain to

⁶⁷¹ Callimachos, *Hymn to Delos* 1.26.

⁶⁷² Panegyric of Maximian, 4.2; 289 A.D.

⁶⁷³ Panegyric of Maximian and Constantius, 12.8; 307 A.D.

⁶⁷⁴ Claudian, *Panegyric to Honorius* VII.93; 398 A.D.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid, *On Stilicho's Consulship* I, 1.217.

my shores and my granaries are full whatever breeze may blow"⁶⁷⁶, neatly tying in the main concern of the Roman state throughout history - how to ensure the grain-supply - with the notion of the consul controlling the winds, in turn controlling the shipping, and therefore the corn-route.

(iv) Metaphors and Similes.

However, perhaps the most frequent use of the winds in ancient locution was in metaphor and simile. Like poems and popular music today, there is always some human emotion or state of mind that may be compared to the natural world, and winds are ideal for these expressions. The wind through a cornfield, upon the waves, driving a fire, tossing leaves or raising dust are all images that speak of passion or of fast motion, while the quieter, more gentle westerly winds that stir leaves on the boughs and whisper through the grasses reflect a more romantic heart. Of all the metaphors and similes that use the winds, we can place them into three categories: those concerned with love, and its opposite, hate; those concerned with horses, and those to do with battle or martial prowess. Almost certainly such a usage developed from the oral tradition, serving to remind the poet of which particular sequence he was narrating. This is especially the case in the *Iliad*, where the many skirmishes and pitched battles are described in wind similes, each of them very different to the others.

(a) Love and hate.

We start with the poet Ibycus, who provides us with one of the most impressive descriptions of love in all of the ancient literature:

But for me, Desire
knows no season of rest;
ablaze with lightning -
a Thracian north wind -
swooping from Cypris with
searing frenzies, black, unabashed,
he brutally wrenches my heart
at the root⁶⁷⁷.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid, *On Stilicho's Consulship II*, l.395.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibykus, *PMG* 286.

Here love is depicted as the cold, 'black' north wind, a negative perception perhaps, but undoubtedly a powerful one, full of the inspiration and pain that one feels when struck with such desire. Not all poems are quite as serious as this, however, such as the following anonymous epigram which muses:

I wish I were the wind and you, walking along the shore,
would bare your breasts and take me as I blew⁶⁷⁸.

Undeniably sexual, it is also light-hearted and jocular, somewhat in the form of Ovid's playful *Amores* II.15, which discusses the gift of a ring from the poet to his sweetheart. Here, in *Amores* I.7.53ff, Ovid describes his beloved's timorousness at his anger, comparing her shaking body with the most gentle of the winds rustling the flora:

I saw her limbs all nerveless and her frame a-tremble - like the leaves of
the poplar shaken by the breeze, like the slender reed set quivering by
gentle Zephyr, or the surface of the wave when ruffled by the warm
south wind...

But such a love has its downsides, and poets are quick to compare their former loved ones with the more dreary aspects of nature:

No longer does your soft flesh bloom;
The swath of horrid age is overtaking you.
The sweet lure of your lovely face has dissolved;
Yes, many gusts of winter wind have blasted you⁶⁷⁹.

Archilochos' cruelty in declaring that his ex-lover is now old and ugly is echoed by Horace, who wrote:

A lonely crone in an alley, you in your turn
shall snivel for fornicator's disdain
on moonless nights (the rising wind a
Bacchante from Thrace)...
And you shall deplore
that pleasant young men take greater delight
in myrtle's pale and ivy's dark green,
and consign dead leaves to Eurys,
winter's companion⁶⁸⁰.

⁶⁷⁸ *Anth. Pal.* V.83.

⁶⁷⁹ Archilochos, *Second Cologne Epode* (7511).

⁶⁸⁰ Horace, *Odes* I.25, 9ff.

Presumably Horace sounds so bitter because he was rejected by the woman this poem was intended for. Certainly it seems the norm for poets to be spurned by their paramours, and for the dejected lover to write poems about the event - Catullus wrote several vindictive works attacking his mistress Lesbia, and Propertius fared no better with his beloved Cynthia, who was frequently unfaithful to him, causing the poet to compare her fidelity to the elements: "Not so lightly do Carpathian waves change under a north wind, or do storm clouds veer" he scolds in *Elegies* II.5.12; and "not so quickly do the Syrtes⁶⁸¹ shift in the veering breath of the south wind", at II.9.34. But it is not only women who break hearts; in possibly the most famous simile from the *Aeneid*, we see the hapless Dido begging Aeneas to stay; but unfortunately for her:

He stood firm like an oak-tree toughened by the years when northern winds from the Alps vie together to tear it from the soil, with their blasts striking it now this side and now that; creaking, the trunk shakes, and leaves from on high strew the ground; yet still the tree grips the rocks below⁶⁸².

Here again we see an allusion, this time in reverse, to Aesop's fable of the reed and the olive-tree - but, unlike the reed, Aeneas is not swayed by the storm of Dido's passion, and unlike the olive-tree, he is not uprooted by it either, since he is on a mission from Venus and the gods, and is given the strength to resist.

(b) Horses.

We have talked briefly on several occasions about the relationship between horses and winds, and it is in the realm of similes that the connexion seems to have been born. It begins with Homer, who talks of the horses of the gods, or of Achilles, as being as 'swift as the wind'⁶⁸³, and continues to be used in epic poetry through Virgil's description of a horse running in *Georgics* III.196:

as when the gathered north wind swoops down from Hyperborean coasts, driving on Scythia's storms and dry clouds, then the deep cornfields and watery plains quiver under the gentle gusts, the tree-tops

⁶⁸¹ The Syrtes are two rocks off the north coast of Cyrene and Carthage, in the gulfs of Sidra and Gabes, a region known for its sirocco blast; cf. Lucan *Civil War* IX.319ff.

⁶⁸² Virgil, *Aeneid* IV.441ff.

⁶⁸³ *Iliad* VIII.48, XIII.28, XVII.85.

rustle, and long rollers press shoreward; on flies the wind, sweeping in his flight the fields and seas alike.

to Quintus of Smyrna's continuation of the Homeric Trojan story, *The Fall of Troy*:

[Horses are] wild as the blasts of roaring Boreas
Or shouting Notus, when with hurricane-swoop
He heaves the wide sea high, when in the east
Uprises the disastrous Altar-star
Bringing calamity to sea-farers⁶⁸⁴.

As stated previously, the relationship is based upon the fact that horses were considered as elite animals, being expensive to buy and maintain, and were the fastest (if not the largest) of all animals known of on mainland Greece. Their employment in battle was usually a deciding factor upon the outcome, so it is not surprising for us to find references to 'wind-swift' horses whilst on the battlefield.

(c) Battle.

Perhaps the most favoured use of the winds as a metaphor or simile must be the comparison to wars - from the gathering of the forces to pitched battle between armies or armed combat between two men. Many such similes place one wind against another - the south and the west, for example - which may indicate an unequal struggle taking place, as at *Iliad* II.170, XI.355-6; *Aeneid* X.345ff. At other times, the wind fights against something as great as itself, something immovable - the ocean or a cliff, as in *Iliad* II.168, 468-73, *Aeneid* XII.364ff; or it destroys things in its path - a tree or a cornfield, as in *Iliad* V.574, XI.398, XVI.889, XVII.59-65. The routing of an army is described in similar terms, two winds whirling around and around to suggest panic - *Iliad* IX.5-7. Individuals are often likened to whirlwinds or 'black tornadoes' as they wreak havoc amongst the ranks of the enemy: see *Iliad* XI.888, XII.49, XX.61-2.

Bacchylides, in his victory ode for the pancratiast Pytheas of Aegina, compares Achilles and his disappearance from the battlefield to a stormy night and then the calm of the following day, contrasting the fear of the might of Achilles/Boreas with the relief at their escape:

⁶⁸⁴ Quintus of Smyrna, *The Fall of Troy* IV.552ff.

as on a dark-blossoming sea Boreas rends men's hearts with the billows, coming face to face with them as night rises up, but ceases on the arrival of Dawn who gives light to mortals, and a gentle breeze levels the sea, and they belly out their sails before the south wind's breath and eagerly reach the dry land which they had despaired of seeing again⁶⁸⁵.

Finally, the writers of antiquity also spared a thought for those who were innocently caught between two masters in the duration and course of a war. Lucan, in his *Civil Wars* II.459, describes the mixed emotions and wavering loyalties of the Italian towns that were torn between supporting Caesar or Pompey:

So, when the roaring blast of the south wind is master of the sea, all the main is swayed by it; and even if the earth, opened again by Aeolus with his trident, lets loose the east wind on the swollen waves, the ocean, though smitten by the second wind, remains true to the first, and though the sky surrenders to the rainy east wind, the sea asserts the power of the south.

Again, we may mention Aesop's fable of the reed and the olive-tree: it does seem that it is better to keep one's head down when a storm is brewing rather than attempt to resist it for fear of being destroyed.

⁶⁸⁵ Bacchylides, frg.13.

5.0 Conclusion.

Air hung over the earth
 By just so much heavier than fire
 As water is lighter than earth
 There the Creator deployed cloud,
 Thunder to awe the hearts of men,
 And winds
 To polish the bolt and the lightning.
 - Ted Hughes, *Creation/Four Ages/Flood*.

In this thesis we have attempted to show the importance of Wind-gods and the winds in the lives of the people of antiquity, from the Late Bronze Age through to the dawning of the Christian era, from 1400 B.C. to 500 A.D. We have done this mainly by examining the iconography that remains extant, relating it to events that passed into social and political history that were imitated or represented in art. It is worthwhile to summarise what has gone before so that we may attempt to draw together any disparate strands that are still left untied at this juncture.

In the Introduction we posed the question: what are the uses of myth? The answer is never easy or straightforward, but we accepted for the terms of this thesis an amalgamation of the didactic and aetiological, as these may be seen as the best terms in which we can read the images of Wind-gods. Seen through the mirror of history, literature, religion and the contemporary society of the periods, our perceptions alter - not radically, but enough - as time moves forward. Who are these Wind-gods? Where did they come from? Why do they exist? What reasons may we give for their appearance? How can we reconcile winds as a natural phenomenon with the Wind-gods of myth? Now, with our accumulated knowledge, we can try to respond to these questions:

1. Who are the Wind-gods?

Briefly, the Wind-gods are a collection of deities whose main purpose is in the personification of the force and nature of a particular meteorological wind. While table 3 gives a complete list and etymology of these beings, it would perhaps be best to remind ourselves once again of the cardinal Winds and their associates. Boreas, the North Wind, is the representation of both the cold, blustery winter wind, the bora, and

also the breezy cooling wind of the summer, the annual Etesians (*meltemi*). To the geographers and early meteorologists, these cold winds came from Thrace, the barbarian kingdom to the far north of Greece and civilised lands, and the winds were cold due to their proximity to the North Pole, from which they flowed. In iconography Boreas reflects this nature, appearing as a warmly clothed, mature and bearded man, occasionally with some attributes that point to his origins in Thrace: the *zeira*, tattoos, a horse. His central myth relates to his abduction of the maiden Oreithuia, princess of Athens and daughter of King Erechtheus. It is unknown whether or not this myth is indigenous to Attica, or if it arrived in Greece from the Near East during the Orientalising period and was adopted by the Athenians after the Persian Wars. Herodotus, our chief source for this conflict, notes at VII.158 that the Delphic oracle declared that the Greeks should pray to the Winds for help in the forthcoming invasion, and more specifically at VII.189 he mentions an oracle that advised the Athenians to pray to their son-in-law for his help. The invasion fleet arrived during August of 480 B.C., in *meltemi* season, and when the Persians were spotted anchoring off Cape Sepias near Artemision, the Athenians duly prayed to Boreas, their 'son-in-law' by his union with Oreithuia. From the Hellespont came a north-easterly squall which, funnelled through the narrow channels around the Magnesian coast, wrecked a large number of Persian vessels. In their gratitude for this deliverance, the Athenians dedicated an altar or small temple to Boreas and Oreithuia on the banks of the River Ilissus, where the princess was supposed to have been playing when she was carried off.

The serious interest in the myth of Boreas-Oreithuia in art began at this date. From 480-470 B.C., images abounded featuring the Wind-god and his bride, accompanied by Erechtheus and fleeing witness-companions. It is hard to see these representations as relating to anything other than the Cape Sepias incident, although there is a train of thought which points to the tentative inroads being made by Greek colonists into Thrace in order to control the Black Sea grain trade. Compared with other images on contemporary pottery, it would seem as if this explosion of the pairing of Boreas-Oreithuia may be part of Athens' self-perception: a kind of self-aggrandising 'propaganda', begun while the war with the Persians was still on-going to give heart

and boost confidence among the citizens. This would certainly explain the presence of another of Athens' mythical kings, Cecrops, with his daughters the Aglaurids on some of the earlier representations.

But all good things must come to an end. The victory at Salamis chased the Persians out of Greece forever, despite their short-lived capture and destruction of Athens itself, and so the Greeks were left with several decisions to make. Firstly, to ensure that the war was never repeated, they took the precaution of establishing a voluntary league of nations that contributed money and ships to safeguard their freedom. Athens elected itself the leader, and with its newly-found wealth, began to grow in power, also rebuilding the city in a style that reflected its sudden elevation in status. Secondly, and partly because of the first reason, the social climate began to change. The war must have left many thousands dead, and women were without the protection of an adequate *kurios*. The fear that the old social order was in jeopardy brought tighter measures of control over women, seen in the visual arts by the preponderance of chase/rape sequences as the ideal symbol of male domination over the female, with the Athenian heroine represented by the meek and noble Alcestis, ready to die for her husband, opposite the ultimate anti-heroine, the wild and tempestuous goddess Eos, ready to seize whichever handsome man caught her eye.

This change in social mores also affected Zephyrus, the young and handsome god of the West Wind, who is most often depicted with the Spartan youth Hyacinthus. Representations of homosexual love were slowly fading from the artistic record, possibly because of the *hubris* laws or the upsurge of interest in erotic literature instead. All myths featuring Zephyrus and his paramours relate to the fertility of crops, because the west wind heralds the arrival of spring. He has two sides to his nature: the Homeric Zephyrus is a powerful, blustery wind that is a reference to the West wind that blows at sea, while the more gentle wind that becomes the beloved of the poets is the west wind that moves across the land. Here we begin to see the differences in the perception of the winds by the two main occupations of the ancients: sailors and farmers.

This continues with the perception of Notus the South Wind, often seen as an unpleasant wind because of its parching heat or unmitigating drizzle. It causes

numerous squalls at sea, and while it can destroy crops in the provinces of North Africa, in other regions - such as Asia Minor or Crete - it is welcomed for its damp climate that brings fruitfulness. It seems likely that the south wind over North Africa was once represented by the Harpies, whose rapaciousness deprived the lands of food in the same way that later they were to steal Phineus' banquet; their opponents were then the Boreads, symbols of the cooling north wind.

Eurus the East Wind is not often mentioned in literature and appears infrequently in art. Hesiod spoke of him as an evil wind, born from the dying breath of Typhon along with the stormwinds, but in Sparta at least he is addressed as their 'saviour'. This may be explained by the fact that the large mountain range of the Taygetus affects the Laconian plains to the east with strong down-draughts or by rain-shadowing, so that in some years there may well be a drought. An easterly wind, bringing rain from the Aegean, would help immeasurably, thus earning for Eurus the gratitude of the Laconians.

These, then, are the four cardinal Wind-gods. There are others, like Apeliotes and Lips, who rarely appear in art but who are mentioned often in literature following the introduction of the wind-rose, which named each of the winds from its geographical direction or nature. For those images which show us unidentifiable Wind-gods, such as those on Mithraic reliefs or sarcophagi, then we should not concern ourselves, as some do, with attempting to put a name to the faces. It is enough that they are recognised as Wind-gods, and what is required from us is to understand why they appear in that particular scheme.

2. Where do Wind-gods come from?

The worship of the Winds may be traced back to primitive forms of animism in the Neolithic or Bronze Age period, when man recognised that certain elemental forces were in control of the passage of time, the weather, the sailing and the quality of crops, and so consequently strove to contact and sway these forces with prayers and offerings. Animism developed into theism, particularly with the introduction of the Olympian deities in the Iron Age who took on many of the characteristics of the older gods, including those elemental deities who nevertheless continued to be worshipped.

The main difference that we may find between the Olympians and the Bronze Age Wind-gods is in their perceived physical positions. The former are tied to a situation that is entirely related to human affairs; for example Athena is the maiden goddess of wisdom, war, and weaving. Although she may add to her areas of patronage in different locations, she remains the same wherever she is worshipped. Wind-gods are slightly different: they have a provenance, a direction from which they blow, which not only determines their nature (which cannot be changed), but which also acts as their prison. For the North Wind can never become the South Wind; as Ovid puts it:

Nor did the builder of the world allow the winds, any more than the rest, to roam at will throughout the air - they can scarcely be prevented from tearing the world apart as it is, although each blows in a different direction: so violent is the strife between the brothers⁶⁸⁶.

While a wind may travel through a country, as does the North Wind through Greece, it can never linger there, as do the Olympians. The Winds form the very basis of the universe, they are the cornerstones of the cosmos - it is no surprise that to the followers of the mystery-cults the Winds were integral to the construction of their world - not just because there are four cardinal Wind-gods, but because they are by their very nature immutable, unchangeable, turning the wheel of time yet never altering their own characters. The notion of the foursquare is particularly relevant to the Winds, more so than the other groups of four that we have encountered (Seasons, elements, humours), because each Wind is allotted one corner of the square, and it is the nature of the square that the four corners will not meet, but are forever separated. Thus, unlike an Olympian deity, which we have described above as 'situational', we may call the Wind-gods 'spatial' deities, gods who are divided by both space and time, yet who also control both.

⁶⁸⁶ Ovid, *Met.* I.54ff.

3. Why do Wind-gods exist?

They exist for the same reasons as all gods exist; to help man believe that there is some higher being that he can appeal to that will influence or change a mode of living. We have seen above how important sailing was to the people of antiquity for purposes of trade and war, and the winds are the most important of deities for crossing the sea. Cult-places are to be found in high locations that overlook the sea, such as Mt. Athos and the Amnisus Cave, or beside rivers such as the Ilissus; others that may be found beside fields relate to the power of the wind in farming techniques like winnowing the grain from the chaff, or may refer to the weather brought by specific winds, as with Eurus and Zephyrus. The wind is present in our daily lives, then as it is today, and as this thesis has shown, there is not one part of life that it does not touch: history and art, meteorology and science we can understand, but medical practices also insisted on the evil or beneficial breath of different winds. With such a wide-ranging influence, is it any wonder that they were thought of as deities?

4. What reasons can we give for their appearance?

We have already discussed how and why the Winds should be depicted with wings or as horses, but why were they portrayed as human? Anthropomorphism makes them like the Olympians; before this, they were not represented although they were worshipped, for how does one draw what one can feel but not see? We can see an evolution in their iconography, and may possibly explain it as follows: several attempts were made in the Bronze Age to represent the wind - leaves and trees bowing before a strong wind, or vertical 'speed lines' were the most effective - as the wind was perceived as a 'living' force. With the advent of the Olympians, they had to adapt to an anthropomorphic religion. This in itself was unstable as the wind can be seen conceptually as anything that might suggest such a force: horses (the most swift and powerful of beasts), moving clouds, shifting trees. One had to move from the notion of Wind as a concept to Wind as an anthropomorphic figure. Early appearances of the Winds made them composite creatures, half-serpentine in reference to their sometimes Earth-born nature, and while the top half was human, the lower half was still bestial, not only suggesting their origin but also still referring to their power. We may also

bring in the influence of the Near Eastern sky-deities, many of whom are winged humans or partially animal figures, through the medium of artwork traded by Corinth during the Orientalising period. Finally the Winds became fully human save for their wings, which marked them out as an elemental or abstract deity rather than an Olympian. In making the Winds into men, iconographers also had to imply their original characters as forces of nature: and this, perhaps, gave rise to some of the myths about them, or at least the amendments to myths such as that of Hyacinthus. Certainly the artistic representations of this myth may be influenced by such a development in the iconography as well as by social changes in Athens at the time.

5. How can we reconcile winds as natural phenomena with the Wind-gods of myth? This is the ultimate crux of the matter. Throughout the iconographical and literary history of the Wind-gods, behind it there always stood the reality of the winds as purely physical forces. While it is difficult to explain the many reasons for the alteration or evolution of a religion, we may simplify the Olympian's growth thus: Zeus, originally a sky/weather-god, was separated from his early functions and elevated to the role of the King of the Gods, although he did keep his former symbol of the lightning-bolt and the epithet 'The Thunderer'; with the Wind-gods, the change was not quite so clear-cut. There seems to be a sliding scale between a Wind as a god, and a wind as a force of nature, with many of the examples we have examined above placed around the centre of such a scale. The major differences can be found when comparing the views of Greeks and Romans, scientists and artists, and between the visual and literary evidence.

Firstly, the difference between the Greek and Roman perception. The Greeks used their myths about Wind-gods to forge their identities and beliefs, backed up by visual imagery such as the Boreas-Oreithuia self-aggrandising pottery of Athens in the 480's. It provided social comment and entertainment value, either symbolically or through transfer of a former 'mythical golden age' to the current mores. It may also have been decorative, and this is most likely true of the Italiote erotica images. In Greek literature, there is a wide divide between those that wrote about meteorological

winds, and those who wrote about Wind-gods, with a few poets - such as Ibycus and Archilochus - taking the middle ground.

The Romans, although they took the main myths relating to Boreas and (more popularly) Zephyrus and adapted them to suit their perceptions (Zephyrus-Flora, for example), used images of Wind-gods more as decoration when they applied them to the minor arts - paintings, terracotta, pottery. Wind-gods became symbolic only when represented on an object with another ritual meaning, for example, a Mithraic tauroctony, an Aeonic mosaic, or a sarcophagus, and when they appeared thus, they were not meant to characterise either the physical winds or the mythological Winds, but rather a vague amalgamation of the two. Here they became beings that turned the cosmos and brought the seasons (physical), and could act as agents of fertility for both the fields and for the dead (physical/mythological).

This visual use of Roman Wind-gods is carried through into their literature, which makes a clearer distinction between what is a god and what is merely the weather. While both Greek and Roman poets use meteorological conditions specific to a real wind when describing a Wind-god - for example, Boreas is cold and blustery from the bora - the Romans, such as Statius, Ovid, Catullus and Virgil, emphasise the meteorological aspect. This may be seen especially well in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I.61ff, when 'God' assigns four regions to the four Winds, so that they will not fight and thus create storms to tear the world apart. We have no extant Greek Creation myths that place the Winds at opposite corners of the universe; indeed, the earliest that we can find such a concept is in the Hellenistic period. We may gather from this that the Greeks saw their world as being in a state of flux, while the Romans preferred to see their world in terms of stability: fixing the Winds would then ensure that such stability lasted, as in Mithraic belief.

The difference between science and art is vast, but they do not contradict each other; indeed, how could they? A mythological wind that becomes a literary/visual wind was, ultimately, based on a meteorological reality. Boreas only became known as a freezing, fierce Wind-god because the winter bora has these qualities in abundance. Unlike the scientific research of the modern world, where people try to disprove the existence of God or the fallacy of the Book of Genesis, ancient science was pursued by

those who accepted the existence of gods although they may logically explain away such gods by other causes. Aristotle, Theophrastus and Hippocrates proved their lore from empirical observation, not from a belief in myth.

Finally, the differences between the visual and literary representations of Wind-gods. Art is a mirror of literature and literature is a mirror of art; here we cannot hope to find who first envisaged the Winds with wings, or as horses (although I suspect Homer was the trigger for such an artistic representation). All arguments are likely to be cyclical along the following lines: meteorology⇒mythology⇒art⇒literature⇒mythology⇒literature⇒art... Therefore, in answer to our original question: how can we reconcile meteorological winds with mythological Winds, the answer is that we cannot; nor should we try to, as we - like the ancients - do not need to. Wind-god mythology would not exist without a physical wind to base its attributes and 'character' on, and without the forms of visual art and literature, such a mythology would not live; all we would be left with would be meteorology; and that would make things a little dull.

We should remove the term 'minor deity' from discussions about the Winds, for, although they *are* 'minor' when compared with the Olympian Pantheon, they are more ancient, more powerful, and more necessary. The correct designation should be 'elemental deity', or perhaps 'peripheral deity', as this is what they are: they are forever on the sidelines and only occasionally in the centre of the action, but while we may say 'peripheral', we do not mean 'marginal'. These are deities who support the cosmos, who could tear it apart if they did not remain in their allotted quarters.

In the final analysis, it may be wise to ask: if the Winds were so important to antiquity, as we claim, then why is there not more evidence for them? Perhaps the best way to answer this is to do a straightforward comparison with Britain today. We are a nation whose reputation is based on our weather: our phlegmatic disposition is attributed to the dismal grey skies we encounter for much of the year, and our national obsession is talking about the weather. Yet few of us would consider it to be one of our primary interests, because it is something that we take for granted. To the ancients, too, the presence of the wind was something to be taken for granted: it was

nearly always there, and when it was not, it was conspicuous by its absence. All other types of weather can be seen: rain, hail, snow, the sun - but we cannot see wind, only feel it, taste it, smell it. This is an element so pervasive that it can be overlooked unless it does any damage in its violence, so it is hardly surprising that there is scant evidence for it in antiquity. The Olympian most commonly associated with the Winds, is, as we have noted above, the god Hermes. He, too, was a common sight to both country-folk and city-dwellers, appearing as boundary-markers and outside houses, on roads and in the fields in the form of the *herm* (literally, 'heap of stones'). Hermes took over many of the attributes of the Wind-gods, so is it not apt that the Winds came to be represented by the Olympian whose most public form was one so common that it became taken for granted? This did not make his power any lesser: indeed, the outcry that was raised when the Athenian herms were mutilated on the eve of the Sicilian expedition in 416 B.C. suggests that out of sight (here insofar as familiarity breeding contempt) was definitely not out of mind.

It is the same principle that may be applied to our Wind-gods, deities both visible and invisible, who touch the lives of all people of antiquity: farmer, sailor, physician, poet, priest, philosopher, scientist; whose cult attempted to control their raw power exuded in the natural world, whose mythology tried to explain their diverse nature; yet all failed to fully master this most powerful of elements that still, even today, defies the logic of science in the most bizarre ways. This leads us to conclude that, truly, the Winds cannot be tamed.

APPENDIX 1: WHAT IS A WIND?

‘Weather patterns exist within the earth’s atmosphere, but it has been discovered that these change constantly and have never exactly repeated themselves’... If there is no pattern, no logic, then meteorologists and climatologists will be reduced to the level of village soothsayers. ‘This lack of regular behaviour indicates that the atmosphere is in a chaotic state.’ Mourning the inevitable conclusion: that weather is unpredictable.

- Leslie Forbes, *Bombay Ice*.

The formation of the weather.

The weather is created by the constant evaporation and precipitation of water vapour in the lower part of Earth’s atmosphere collecting in specific areas where it makes contact with, and becomes a part of, an air mass, which travels continually through the atmosphere, each mass covering hundreds of thousands of miles. Each air mass has an individual characteristic, acquired at its source, and its subsequent movements cause the varying weather conditions. There are eight air masses, three of which affect the Mediterranean and Aegean: Arctic Continental originates over Greenland; a dry mass, bringing fine and sunny winter weather to northern Europe, before becoming less stable, wetter and showery into the Mediterranean and southern Europe. Polar Continental originates over northern Russia and Finland, and is similar in behaviour to the Arctic Continental mass. Tropical Continental originates over north Africa and the southern Mediterranean, travelling in winter over southern Europe, bringing severe coastal storms. The winds in the Aegean derive from the combination of Arctic/Polar Continental (the bora), Polar/Tropical Continental (the meltemi), and Tropical Continental (the sirocco).

Wind movement is caused by the earth’s axial rotation, and areas of high and low pressure. These pressure areas are caused by the Westerly winds, which are formed higher in the atmosphere than other winds. Moving faster than the rotation of the earth, the Westerlies are thrown outwards from the earth’s axis, in other words, southwards, and the resulting build-up of air creates an area of high pressure, balanced by a corresponding low pressure system in the north.

A low pressure system has an increasing atmospheric suction which causes the winds to travel in an inwards-spiralling circle, or in cyclonic motion (anticlockwise in the Northern hemisphere), in which the wind speed increases towards the centre of the wind path. Atmospheric pressure drops within the cyclonic area, forming a depression, bringing stormy, unsettled weather. An area of high pressure forms a looser cyclonic motion, known as an anticyclone, which brings fine weather.

When two air masses meet, they retain their characteristics and a front develops; this takes the character of the dominant air mass. Rain falls before the arrival of a front, and increases in intensity until it has passed over. A cold front brings sharp, violent showers, snow and hail squalls, or summer thunderstorms often broken by sunny intervals - this is what typifies the winter bora and the summer meltemi. A warm front brings steady rain, which is the effect of the sirocco in the southern Mediterranean and Aegean.

Prevailing winds over a country are a response not only to the masses of atmospheric pressure systems, but also to more localised controls: topography, coastal configuration, and insular location. As may be imagined, the atmospheric factors are dominant, but at times, geographic factors exert a greater influence, depending on locale and time of year. Greece enjoys the typical climate of the Mediterranean, characterised by mild but rainy winters and dry, warm or hot summers. This type of climate is controlled by the middle latitude Westerlies⁶⁸⁷, which mix frequent cyclonic activity and variable wind patterns with the dry high pressure cell of the subtropics. The Westerlies control the region during the winter with their low pressure cyclonic activity, depressions and rain, while summer is controlled by the subtropical cell, bringing aridity and almost cloudless skies.

In the winter, the maximum of barometric pressure advances westwards from above Asia, carrying cold, dry air to form the prevailing northerly winds of this cooler time of year. But because the Mediterranean is naturally an area of low pressure, between the Atlantic pressure maximum and the eastern European pressure maximum, it is a region traversed by cyclonic depressions and their counterclockwise and convergent wind fields; as a result of this interference, the winds become highly

⁶⁸⁷ Supra n.461: xx.

variable, veering (shifting clockwise) if the disturbance passes to the north, or backing (shifting counterclockwise) if it passes to the south. Thus, although northerly winds tend to dominate through the cool season (autumn to early spring), the winds are very much unpredictable in their pattern. The dominant winds are known as the *bora*, because they blow from the north. The name recalls the god of the North Wind, Boreas, and there are several variant spellings (*borras*, *borreas*) that attest to the presence of this wind in antiquity⁶⁸⁸.

The bora are strong Polar or Arctic Continental air draughts. They form when there is a well-developed anticyclone over central or northern Europe and relatively little pressure in the Mediterranean, or when a depression passes through the Aegean, and are best described as fallwinds⁶⁸⁹. The bora is common in both the Adriatic and Aegean⁶⁹⁰, appearing most frequently in the former region with greatest ferocity. A bora is cool and dry; the cold front brings rain, hail, or snow (depending on the season - the bora is a winter or early spring wind), which can be heavy if the air ahead of the front is warm and humid. The front arrives "with a violent squall and [is] followed by an increase in wind speed often to gale force"⁶⁹¹. A bora can then last for several days. Usually there is no warning of a bora's approach except a slight dip in pressure on a barometer.

However, the bora is usually confined to the winter months. The Aegean bora (map 4) is a strong north and north-easterly wind that originates from the high pressure area above the Vardar (Axius River) gap and the Dardanelles. It is the Vardar bora, mainly active in winter, that has the greatest effect on the central Aegean, being particularly powerful on the lee side of mountainous ground. The bora from the Dardanelles (Herodotus' 'Hellespontian' wind of VII.189) is funnelled through the Stenón Cafiréns (between Euboea and Andros), and through the Cytheran Straits. Particularly violent squalls occur off Cape Malea⁶⁹², and also Cape Tainaron

⁶⁸⁸ Ps-Ari. *De Signis*.

⁶⁸⁹ R. G. Barry and R. J. Chorley, *Atmosphere, Weather and Climate*, London, Routledge, 1998 (seventh edition): 114.

⁶⁹⁰ In the Aegean the bora is also known as the LÍvas.

⁶⁹¹ *Weather in the Mediterranean, Vol. 1: General Meteorology*, London, HMSO, 1962: 87.

⁶⁹² Cape Malea is still renowned for its ferocity. A recent article (B. Bird, "Cape Crusaders" in *Yachting World*, February 1992) refers to the Cape as being "prone to sudden, vicious storms and lethal cross seas (p.121). The article also discussed the dangers of katabatic winds making

(Matapan)⁶⁹³ on the Cytheran Straits, which in mythology is named as one of the few entrances from the earth into Hades, presumably with good reason. When two bora meet each other, or a southerly wind, intense cyclones develop over the north Aegean⁶⁹⁴.

In the summer, a more stable weather system emerges with the departure of the cyclonic depressions, making the winds more regular. A strong minimum of barometric pressure develops over north-western India and Pakistan, and this, combined with the Atlantic subtropical moving northwards, creating a pressure gradient from west to east, form the basis of the Etesians ('yearly'), northerly winds that blow over the Aegean, and which today are known as the *meltemi* (map 5). The *meltemi* wind is caused by continental depression over Asia Minor; they are Polar Continental draughts with some Tropical Continental, and they bring dry winds from southern Russia and the Caspian sea. The winds weaken if a depression moves across the Balkans or Greece; but the depression in these cases is followed by high pressure which intensifies the *meltemi*. In the north Aegean the *meltemi* is north-easterly; in the central and southern Aegean it is northerly, and it becomes north-westerly near Rhodes and Caria. These winds "have almost the character of trade winds"⁶⁹⁵. In late May or early June, light northerlies known to the ancients as the *Prodroms* (forerunners) begin to blow; after a week or two, in which southerlies may counteract on the force of the *Prodroms*, the *meltemi* proper arrives, and blows at full force between July and September.

If the *meltemi* hits a depression, as stated above, then the resulting strengthened wind usually interacts with the cold front which holds Polar Continental air, affecting the whole Aegean between 20°E (Ionian islands) and 30°E (the sea between Rhodes and Cyprus), and even as far as the coast of Africa on occasions.

overnight anchoring and sailing difficult; the bizarre effect of localised winds (one boat stormbound at anchor whilst four miles away on the open sea, another boat was becalmed!), and advised the best time for sailing was late morning, with Force 3 or 4 winds. A postscript then added that the yachting company was no longer offering the Cape Malea charter because of the danger of the winds being "too strong and unpredictable" (p.123). Cape Malea must have caught many a sailor out in antiquity, as it continues to do today.

⁶⁹³ *Mediterranean Pilot Vol. IV*, London, The British Admiralty, 1955: 23.

⁶⁹⁴ Met. Office, *supra* n.692: 85.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

This meltemi reaches gale force and has many similarities to the winter bora. The meltemi is at its strongest in the southern Aegean, between the Cycladic island of Melos to Samos to Rhodes. Coastal cities like Athens tend to create convectional sea-breezes which incline to blow contrary to the meltemi, thus countering and lessening the effect. The meltemi at Athens, therefore, may blow at 10-20 knots for an afternoon (five to six hours) before dropping to a dead calm in the late evening.

Meltemes, despite their dangers in raising storms amongst the islands, were considered the most favourable winds for travel purposes. The late antique military historian Vegetius (late fourth century A.D) wrote that the best times to sail were between the 27th May (with the arrival of the Prodrums) and the 11th September (end of meltemi season); absolute outside limits are 19th March and 10th November, both dates being close to the more unpredictable bora season. Hesiod writes:

For fifty days past the summer solstice
and past the end of summer's toilsome part,
men can sail with safety...
Then the winds have clear directions and the sea is safe.
Then, free of care, trust the winds...
The second season for sailing comes in the spring:
...the whim of chance rules it, and disaster is hard to escape⁶⁹⁶.

These references are for the meltemi, arriving around 20th July (summer solstice) and finishing about the 10th September. The spring sailing season is confined to the second half of April⁶⁹⁷, although Hesiod mistrusts it, possibly because the northerly bora is still dominant. Both the bora and the meltemi raise "violent squalls in their lee near the land"⁶⁹⁸; the meltemi in particular causes the 'white squall' mentioned by Homer⁶⁹⁹, so named from the foam churned up by the wind action.

The other major winds of the Aegean are the sirocco, the ornithiai and the leukonotoi. The sirocco⁷⁰⁰ is a warm south or south-east wind which blows infrequently between November and May (map 6), and is tied to the passage of cyclonic depressions across the Mediterranean at this time. Its presence in the Aegean

⁶⁹⁶ Hesiod, *W+D* 663-684.

⁶⁹⁷ A. Athanassakis, *Hesiod*, John Hopkins University Press, 1983: 105-6.

⁶⁹⁸ Met. Office, *supra* n.692: 88.

⁶⁹⁹ British Admiralty, *supra* n.694: 24.

⁷⁰⁰ Also known as the Khamsin or the Leveche.

is felt gradually, as it brings from the African littoral moist air, drizzle, and poor visibility⁷⁰¹. From its starting point over Africa, where it is a hot, dry wind, on its passage across the southern Mediterranean it collects a fair amount of moisture from the surface of the sea⁷⁰². The sirocco mainly affects the south-westerly Mediterranean and southern Italy and Sicily, but it is also prominent in the cool season of autumn to spring in the southern and western Aegean, and its effects have occasionally been felt on the north coast of the Aegean⁷⁰³. Sirocco gales are infrequent, but can occur quite viciously with particularly high wind speeds around the coast of the Dodecanese and the sea-channels off the coast of Asia Minor. The ornithiai (bird-winds) occur infrequently during the spring; they are cold northerly or north-easterly winds, accompanied by snow or abnormally cold weather. The leuconotoi (white-southerlies) also arrive in the spring, southerly winds that bring clear weather and clear skies into the Aegean.

Localised winds that arise from differences in geographic conditions are mainly land and sea breezes, convectional air currents formed through the heating of the air travelling over the earth. Sea breezes occur during the day, with cooler air over the sea displacing the warmer land air. Land breezes occur at night (also known as katabatic winds) as the cooling land air displaces the warm air over the sea, although depending upon topography and conditions, these may also become mountain winds⁷⁰⁴. Katabatic winds in the Aegean are particularly dangerous as they can blow up at any time and are as strong as the bora⁷⁰⁵. Around rivers or lakes, a Zephyr can be felt, caused by the descending cool air in the centre of a body of water displacing the warm air on the banks of a river or lake. Sea breezes may be strong enough to counteract the prevailing wind, especially in the case of the southerly sea-breeze at

⁷⁰¹ For ancient testimony, see Theophr. *De Signis* 20, 35.

⁷⁰² The south wind does therefore tend to be exceptionally salty; see Ari. *Probs.* XXVI.17 on the unpleasant smell of Notus, cf. Theophr. *De Signis* 26, on the briny taste of Greek rainwater following the south wind.

⁷⁰³ L. F. Marsigli, "Internal Observations on the Thracian Bosphoros, or True Channel of Constantinople, represented in letters to Her Majesty Queen Christina of Sweden", in M. B. Deacon (ed.), *Oceanography: Concepts and History*, Benchmark Papers in Geology 35, Dowden Hutchinson and Ross Inc., Stroudsburg Pennsylvania, 1978: 37.

⁷⁰⁴ R. G. Barry and R. J. Chorley, *supra* n.690: 111ff.

⁷⁰⁵ J. M. Morton, *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*, doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh 1998: 209.

Athens during the summer, which counters the strength of the meltemi during the middle portion of the day. Further types of wind noted by the ancients, and which are still in existence today, include fallwinds, which are very common in the mountains of Greece. These are winds that descend from a high altitude, and which are heated through the increased pressures to which they are subjected. These winds can frequently desiccate vegetation, and this is likely to be the kind of wind described by Pausanias at Methana (II.34.3). Mountain winds blow along valleys at night, and their opposite, the valley winds, blow upwards along the valleys during the day. These may sometimes be strong enough to counteract on the prevailing winds. Down-draughts from coastal mountains provide a slightly different version of the fallwind, one that was, and which continues to be, a considerable threat to shipping, able to overwhelm ships large and small. A down-draught "can increase a good, force five sailing breeze to gale force gusts"⁷⁰⁶. The southern coast of Crete is one such danger area, where mariners are warned to stand at least five miles out to sea in the midst of such a gale in order to avoid wrecking. Other danger areas for this type of wind are on the eastern side of the Gulf of Athens, and along the southern and eastern sides of the Cyclades.

Climatology.

While this meteorological information is correct in regards to the present day, what of the weather in antiquity? During Hellenic prehistory, the weather was "slightly warmer and drier than at present"⁷⁰⁷, with less rainfall on the islands of the Aegean. Around 2200-2100 B.C., south-east Europe became warmer and drier, while the north became cooler and wetter. This was caused by a series of anticyclones moving through a cyclonic depression zone, and corresponds with Egyptian records of famine and drought in 2180-2130, and again between 2000-1950⁷⁰⁸. These are associated with abnormal southerly winds and the failure of the Nile to flood; it also

⁷⁰⁶ W. Bascom, *Deep Water, Ancient Ships*, London, David and Charles Ltd., 1976: 31.

⁷⁰⁷ O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, CUP 1994: 25.

⁷⁰⁸ See, for example, the *Prophecy of Neferty*, written in Lower Egypt, which states that "The river of Egypt is empty, men cross over the water on foot... men search for water on which ships may sail... The South wind drives away the North wind and the sky has still only one wind...". Private letters, such as those written by Hekanakht, or tomb records, like those of Ankhtifi, reveal the extent of the drought and resulting famine. See H. H. Lamb, *Climate: Past, Present and Future*, Vol. 2, Methuen, London, 1977.

corresponds with both the Biblical tale of Joseph (Genesis 41.29-57), and to the invasion of the Hyksos⁷⁰⁹ (Manetho's incorrect translation of the Egyptian *heqakasut*, 'rulers of foreign lands'). Presumably the Hyksos moved from the Eastern Mediterranean littoral because they, too, were suffering from famine and were searching for more cultivable areas. This climatic anomaly of stronger southerly winds would have affected the eastern Mediterranean as far as the Ierapetra isthmus on Crete; the Levant was hardest hit in the ninth century, with a three-and-a-half-year drought and famine corresponding to the punishment of King Ahab (874-853 B.C.)⁷¹⁰. This period lasted until around 500 B.C., and is known as the Sub-Boreal (cooling) phase of the post-glacial era. After 500, the coolest phase was entered into, the Sub-Atlantic, in which occurred weather akin to that that we experience today⁷¹¹: frosty and snowy winters with heavy rainfall during cooler summers. Arctic pack-ice is a good indicator of atmospheric circulation patterns⁷¹², and the pack-ice which had retreated during the Atlantic period (sixth-third millennium B.C.), advanced or re-formed during the Classical age, suggesting that the climate was indeed cooler than the previous millennia.

However, literary records show that, to the minds of the ancients, the climate was changing and becoming warmer - particularly in the Roman period. The first interest in climatology began with Aristotle, who in his *De Meteorologica* I.14 notes that:

The same parts of the earth are not always moist or dry, but they change accordingly as rivers come into existence or dry up. And so the relation of land to sea changes too, and a place does not always remain land or sea throughout all time... But we must suppose that these changes follow some order and cycle.

Herodotus spends some time on his excursus on Egypt discussing the nature of the Nile and its Delta - at II.13, he states that he has seen "shells on the hills" and has "noticed how salt exudes from the soil to such an extent that it affects even the pyramids" - such is the power of the Nile to build land from alluvial silt where once

⁷⁰⁹ S. Quirke and A. J. Spencer (eds.), *Ancient Egypt*, London, British Museum Press, 1992: 40.

⁷¹⁰ I. Kings XVI.29-XVIII; cf. Luke IV.24 and James V.17.

⁷¹¹ Although global warming has disrupted this trend somewhat.

⁷¹² V. Coutant and V. L. Eichenlaub, *supra* n.471: xxvi.

there was sea. He goes on to mention that the flood-level of the river is lessening as the years pass, and notes that the Egyptians, without the Nile flood, will be in the same position as the Greeks when rain does not fall - this is drought as an effect of topographic as well as climatic change: Egypt is getting physically larger (and more populous) because of its Delta, which overstretches the capability of the Nile to flood to levels sufficient to feed the people.

The Romans monitored climatic change through the growth of plants. Pliny, in *Natural History* XVI.15, records that the beech tree (*fagus*), to his mind primarily a mountainside variety that had gradually descended to the Italian plains and thence to Rome itself (as noted by the fourth-century B.C scientist Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* III.10), now no longer grew within the city walls as the weather was too hot for both the beech and for the chestnut tree. It was not just indigenous plant varieties that were adapting to changing conditions - the cultivation of imported crops like the olive and vine also had to undergo a radical alteration. Systematic cultivation of the olive and vine began around 700 B.C., when Greek colonists arrived at Cumae, and for seven centuries their growth was restricted to the southernmost part of Italy. From the turn of the millennium, however, the climate seems to have become warmer: Columella's *De Re Rustica* I.5 warns farmers to be up-to-date with their methods as traditional ways of dealing with crops might not be appropriate, for

...the long wasting of time, weather, and climate change [has been noted by many authorities, such as] the great astronomer Hipparchus, and the trustworthy writer Saserna [who] seems to have accepted it. For in his book he concludes that the position of the heavens has changed... regions which previously, on account of the regular severity of the weather could give no protection to any vine or olive stock planted there, now that the former cold has abated and the weather is warmer, produce olive crops and vintages in the greatest abundance.

To illustrate the growing warmth of the climate over south-western Europe at this time, Lamb⁷¹³ notes that the vine was first cultivated at Rome in 150 B.C.; in 10 B.C., the olive was growing in the south of France. By the fourth century A.D., the vine was cultivable in Paris and in southern England, and grain harvesting in Gaul of the 350's took place in June-July rather than August-September. Be that as it may, it is

⁷¹³ H. H. Lamb, *supra* n.709: 4.

reasonable to assume that the winds of antiquity are not unlike those prevalent in the region today, with some small variations: “we are fully justified... in applying modern wind data to the problems of classical antiquity”⁷¹⁴.

⁷¹⁴ J. Murray, “Do Modern Winds Equal Ancient Winds?” *Med.Hist.Rev.* 2.2 (1987): 156; cf. J. Murray, “Ancient Sailing Winds in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Case for Cyprus”, in *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus and the Sea, Nicosia 25-26th September 1993*, Nicosia 1995: 33, 37ff, and J. L. Bintliff, “Climatic Change, Archaeology and Quaternary Science in the Eastern Mediterranean Region”, in A. Harding (ed.), *Climatic Change in Later Prehistory*, Edinburgh University Press, 1982: 152.

APPENDIX 2: CONCORDANCE OF IMAGES OF WIND-GODS.

B.C.

1600-1200	Priestess of the Winds. Engraved rock-crystal gemstone from Mt. Ida.	Heraclion.
750	Wind-gods on a gold and wooden chariot from Achaia.	Copenhagen NCG.
750	Wind-god. Etruscan sarcophagus from Chiusi.	Boston MOFA 13.2901.
650-625	The Chest of Cypselus, Olympia.	Not extant.
650	Wind-god. Corinthian squat aryballos from the Heraion.	Delos AM 36255/217.
650	Wind-god. Corinthian squat aryballos.	Delos AM B6196/192.
625-550	Wind-gods. Corinthian squat aryballos from Myconos.	Myconos AM Q68.
600	Wind-gods. Middle Corinthian alabastron.	Fogg Art Museum.
600	Boreas and a Harpy. Situla.	Daphnae.
600	Wind-god. Etruscan plate.	Rome, Collegio Romano.
575-550	Wind-god. Late Corinthian aryballos.	Boston MOFA 72.1296.
575	Wind-god. Corinthian aryballos.	Athens NAM 1087.
570	Wind-god. Attic black-figured amphora from the cemetery near Plato's Academy.	Athens NAM 21032.
560-550	Wind-gods. Attic black-figured phiale, Lydos.	Boston, Sackler.
555	Wind-god. Late Corinthian alabastron.	Glasgow, Burrell Collection.
550-540	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic black-figured bowl.	Formerly in Florence, Palazzo de Mozzi.
550-525.	Wind-god. Attic black-figure skyphos from Myconos.	Myconos AM 67.
550-525	Wind-god. Attic black-figure amphora from Myconos.	Myconos AM 1807.
550	Wind-god. Boeotian alabastron.	Boston MOFA 98.899.
550	Wind-god. Laconian kylix, the Naucratis Painter.	Boston MOFA 04.1459.
550	Wind-gods. Corinthian alabastron.	Athens NAM 18668.
550	Wind-god. Laconian phiale.	Athens NAM 46.
550	Boreas and the Dioscurii. Amphora.	London BM B16.
525-500	Wind-god/Gorgon. Painted terracotta antefix from Capua.	London BM GR. 1877.8-2.15.
520	Boreas. South Italian neck-amphora, the Memnon Group.	London BM. GR. 1978.5-2.10.
500	Boreas. Archaic gemstone from Brauron.	Brauron Museum 988.
500	Wind-god. Attic phiale.	Athens NAM 417.
490-480	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic cup from	Boston MOFA 95.31.

	Tarquinia, by Douris.	
480-475	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pointed amphora, the Oreithuia Painter.	Berlin St.M F-2165.
480-475	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pointed amphora, the Oreithuia Painter.	Munich AS 2345.
480-470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic calyx-crater.	Basel, Cahn Coll., 536.
480-470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic oinochoe from Vulci, the Pan Painter.	London, BM.
480-470	Wind-god. Attic red-figure lekythos.	Vienna University Mus.
480-470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from the Acropolis, the Syriscus Painter.	Athens Acropolis 814.
480-470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria, style of the Pan Painter.	Naples NM 81529.
480	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos from Chiusi, the Berlin Painter.	Berlin St.M F-2186.
480	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic pyxis, manner of the Meidias Painter.	Berlin StM 3403.
480	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic cup from Nola, in the manner of Douris.	Berlin StM. F-2305.
480	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic cup, manner of Douris.	Boston MOFA 13.94.
480	Aurai. Attic astralages, Sotades.	London BM E804.
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike from Cerveteri, Hermonax.	
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos, Hermonax.	St. Petersburg, the Hermitage B2070.
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos, Painter of the Yale Oinochoe.	Warsaw NM 142359.
470-460	Zephyrus and Iris. Terracotta plaque from Tarento.	Tarento NM IG-8326.
470-460	Zephyrus and Iris. Terracotta plaque from Locris.	Trieste AM 2350.
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Bologna, style of the Boreas Painter.	Bologna Museum 201.
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos from Nola, the Deepdene Painter.	Brussels A131.
470-460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos from Capua, the Deepdene Painter.	Karlsruhe LM 211.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic volute-crater from Bologna, the Boreas Painter.	Bologna Civ.M. 273.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria.	Athens NAM 13119.
470	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic skyphos, the Zephyrus Painter.	Vienna KH. IV.191.
470	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic skyphos, the Zephyrus Painter.	Brussels Museum A72.
470	Eos and Cephalus. Attic skyphos, the Lewis Painter.	Schwerin Museum 731.
470	Eos and Cephalus/Chione and a youth. Attic	Naples NM 126057.

	skyphos, the Lewis Painter.	
470	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic column-crater from Spina, the Eucharides Painter.	Ferrara NM 2666.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic neck-amphora, manner of the Berlin Painter.	Formerly in Basel KH.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Tarento.	Borowski AS. V.73-390.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria from the Theban Cabeirion.	Oxford Ash. 1930.622.
470	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater, the Boreas Painter.	Munich AS 2375.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike, the Niobid Painter.	Würzburg, von Wagner Museum L-511.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria, the Niobid Painter.	Basel AnM BS-1906.296.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria, the Niobid Painter.	Formerly in Lucerne Kunsthandel.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria, the Niobid Painter.	Brunswick, Bowdoin College 08.3.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic calyx-crater, the Niobid Painter.	Boston MOFA 1972.850.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic volute-crater from Spina, the Niobid Painter.	Ferrara NM 9555.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic volute-crater from Smyrna, the Niobid Painter.	Izmir Arch. Mus.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bowl, the Penthesilea Painter.	Munich KH.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic neck-amphora from Nola, the Alcimachus Painter.	Naples NM H-3125.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic phiale from Ampuria, the Alcimachus Painter.	Barcelona NAM 4.345.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Ruvo, style of the Alcimachus Painter.	Jatta Museum 873.
460-450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bowl, the Sabouroff Painter.	Munich AS 60.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike from Cerveteri, the Painter of the Athena's Birth.	Hamburg KG 1980.74.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic volute-crater.	London BM E480.
460	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Attic white-ground 'bobbin', the Penthesilea Painter.	New York Met. Mus. 28.167.
460	Boreas. Attic red-figure lekythos.	New Haven Yale University 1913.148.
460	Boreas. White-ground lekythos from Eretria, the Aischines Painter.	Athens NAM 1978.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Terracotta figured lekythos from the Agora.	Athens Agora P-14794.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike from the	Athens Agora P8959.

	Agora, by Hermonax.	
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic krater from the Agora, the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe.	Athens Agora P18414.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria from Vulci, the Altamura Painter.	Rome Vatican 16553.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Spina, the Alcimachus Painter.	Ferrara NM 3149.
460	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos from Cerveteri, the Painter of the Yale Lekythos.	Vienna KH IV.3730.
450-440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Gela, the Nausicaa Painter.	Syracuse NM 19844.
450-440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike.	Paris, CdM 401.
450-440	Aura. Boeotian skyphos.	Sydney University Museum 53.30.
450-440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic krater.	Heidelberg University B160.
450-440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos.	Basel, private coll.
450-440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic skyphos.	Athens NAM 12472.
450-425	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic column-crater from Valenzano, the Pisticci Painter.	Taranto NM 10001.
450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria.	Formerly in the Hamilton Collection.
450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic belly-lekythos.	Naples NM 81849.
450	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic oinochoe.	Oxford Ashmolean Mus. 1909.1175.
447	The Four Winds draw Hera's chariot. Parthenon, east metope 7.	Athens NAM.
440-430	Boreas and Odysseus. Boeotian skyphos from the Theban Cabeirion, the Workshop of the Mystae Painter.	Oxford, Ash. 262.
440-430	Zephyrus and Hyacinthus. Lucanian bell-crater, the Pisticci Painter.	London BM F39.
440-430	Phineus and the Harpies. Boeotian skyphos.	Berlin StM. 3141.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria.	London V&A 663.1864.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bell-crater, the Christie Painter.	Madrid AM 11015.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bowl, the Euiaon Painter.	Frankfurt AS B406.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bell-crater, the Phiale Painter.	Paris Louvre G420.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pyxis from Athens, the Euiaon Painter.	Athens NAM 1586.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pyxis, the Euiaon Painter.	Chicago Art Institute 92.125.
440	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic stamnos.	Formerly in Basel AS.
430-420	Eos and Cephalus. Attic calyx-crater.	London BM E466.

430-420	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bowl, the Heidelberg Painter.	Mainz University 108.
430-420	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria.	Athens Benaki Mus.
430	Boreas and Oreithuia. Acroterion from Rhamnous, by Agoracritus.	Athens NAM 2348.
420	Boreas and Oreithuia. Acroterion from Delos.	Delos A-4287.
420	Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic bell-crater, the Painter of the Athens Dinos.	Bonn KH 1216.173-4.
410-400	Boreas and Oreithuia. Apulian oinochoe, the Salting Painter.	Paris Louvre K35.
410-400	Boreas and Oreithuia. Silver-gilt rhyton from Tarento.	Trieste Civic Museum.
400-375	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze hydria from Mesembria.	Sofia NM 5039.
400-350	Boreas and Oreithuia. Terracotta relief-figured lekythos.	New York Met. Mus. 06.1021.207.
400	Odysseus and the bag of Winds. Etruscan carnelian scarab.	Paris CdM 281.
400	Boreas and Deianeira(?). Etruscan false red-figure alabastron.	Mississippi 1977.3.142.
380-370	Boreas and Oreithuia. Terracotta relief-figured lekythos from Tanagra.	Athens NAM 2059.
380-370	Boreas and Oreithuia. Terracotta relief-figured lekythos.	Berlin St.M. 7754.1.
380	Zetes and Phoibe. Attic hydria from Ruvo, the Meleagrus Painter.	Naples NM H-2912.
370-360	Boreas and Oreithuia. Campanian lekythos.	Compiègne, Museum Vivenel 1072.
370-360	Boreas and Oreithuia. Campanian hydria from Capua, the Capua Boreas Painter.	Capua 7565.
360-350	Boreas and Oreithuia. Apulian amphora, the Darius Painter.	Naples NM 81951.
360-350	Boreas and Oreithuia. Apulian volute-crater, the Lycurgus Painter.	London BM GR. 1931.5-11.1.
350-325	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze hydria from Rhodes.	New York Met. Mus. 53.11.3.
350-325	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze hydria from Calymnos.	London BM 310.
350-300	Boreas and Oreithuia. Terracotta figured lekythos.	Private collection.
350-300	Zephyrus and Iris. Bronze hydria from Samsun.	Berlin StM. 30071.
350-300	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze hydria from Cyzicus.	Munich AS. SL.34.
350	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze folding mirror from Eretria.	Athens NAM 7416.
350	Boreas and Oreithuia. Bronze hydria from Pharsalus.	Volos Museum X.18775.

330	Boreas and Oreithuia. Campanian bell-crater from Capua, the Ixion Painter.	Oxford Ash. 1894.5.
330	Boreas and Oreithuia. Campanian hydria, Ixion Painter Group.	Krakow NM XI.834.
320	Wind-gods. Praenestean bronze cistern from Palestrina.	Rome Villa Giulia 24787.
310-300 300-275	Wind-god. Apulian oinochoe, the Arpi Painter. The Four Winds draw Helios' chariot. Roman theatre at Pergamon.	London BM F237.
180	The Four Winds draw Hera's chariot. The Great Altar of Pergamon, east frieze.	Berlin, Pergamon Museum.
150	Boreas and Leto. Mosaic.	Oran.
100	The Etesian Winds on the Tazza Farnese.	Naples NM 27611.
100	The Four Winds. Aeonist mosaic from Philopopolis-Chahba.	Damascus Museum.
100	Wind-gods. Lead coffin from Syria.	Montréal, Place des Beaux Arts.
100	Wind-gods. Lead coffin from Syria.	
50	Three Wind-gods. The Odyssey Frieze.	Rome Vatican 414.
50	The Tower of the Winds, the Roman Agora, Athens.	Athens, <i>in situ</i> .
19-18	A Wind flying on an Augustan denarius.	Nîmes.
<u>A.D.</u>		
14-36	A Wind. Grand Cameo of France.	Paris CdM 264.
50	Four Winds and Provinces. Mosaic from Osita, Via del Vigili.	<i>In situ</i> .
50	Wind-god <i>oscilla</i> in white terracotta.	Soings.
69	The Four Winds. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Domus Pinari Cerealis.	Pompeii.
69	The Four Winds. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa di Centenario.	Pompeii.
70-79	Zephyrus and Chloris-Flora. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Navigio.	Naples AM 12.
71	The Four Winds. Grave stele.	Carnuntum.
100	The Ara Ventorum, Rome.	Capitoline Museum 1955.
100	Wind-gods. Grave stele.	Walbersdorf.
117-138	Zephyrus and a Wind-god. Stele from Cyzicus.	Erdek Museum 7760.
120	Wind-god. Stone relief from Rome.	Palazzo Colonna.
120-130	Wind-god. Bronze attachment from Aquileia.	Neufund NM.
133	Four Winds. Mosaic from Petra Aurea on the Via Nomentana.	<i>In situ</i> .
150	Boreas and Notus. Mithraic tauroctony.	Neunheim.
150	Wind-god. Clay lamp.	Munich AS 283.
150	Wind-god. Stone relief from Rome.	Villa Carpegna.
150	Wind-god. Clay lamp.	Berlin StM 871.

150-500	Boreas and Zephyrus. Mithraic tauroctony.	London.
161	Wind-god/Aeon. Antonine Column, Rome.	<i>In situ</i> .
180-196	Notus/Rain-Demon, Column of Marcus Aurelius.	Rome, <i>in situ</i> .
190-200	The Four Winds. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Liverpool County Museum 1959.148.248.
200	Four Winds. Mosaic from Dougga, the Maison à Trifolium.	Tunis AM A384.
200	Four Winds. Mosaic from Mérida, Casa del Mitreo.	<i>In situ</i> .
200	Wind-god. Stone bust from Göttingen.	Göttingen.
200	Wind-gods on a double-sided altar.	Nîmes.
200	Wind-god. Statue of the <i>Odyssey</i> from the Athenian Agora.	Athens NAM 312.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Ince Blundell Hall.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Verona.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Paris Louvre.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Ninagawa Museum.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Benevento.
200-300	Wind-gods. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Rome, Villa Borghese (2 sarcophagi).
200-300	Wind-gods. Prometheus sarcophagus.	Rome Capitoline Museum 792.
200-300	Wind-gods. Prometheus sarcophagus.	Naples NM 6705.
200-300	Wind-gods. Rhea Silva sarcophagus.	Rome, Palazzo Mattei.
200-300	Wind-gods. Dionysus mosaic.	Sarsina Museum.
200-300	Wind-gods. Bellerophon mosaic.	Bosnia-Herzegovina.
200-300	Wind-gods. Bellerophon mosaic.	Avenches.
200-300	Wind-gods. Weather-gods mosaic.	Orbe.
200-300	Wind-god. Grave relief from Sisteron.	Sisteron.
215-225	Wind-gods. Sarcophagus.	Boston MOFA 1972.650.
250	Two Winds. Painted ceiling of an hypogeum from Djel el'Amad, Tyre.	<i>In situ</i> .
250	Wind-god <i>oscillum</i> of bronze.	Mariemont.
250	Boreas and Notus. Mithraic tauroctony.	Osterburken.
250	The Four Winds. Mithraic altar.	Carnuntum.
250	The Four Winds. Mithraic tauroctony.	Brigetio.
250	Wind-god. Mithraic tauroctony.	Stockstadt.
250	Wind-gods. Mithraic accessories from Angleur.	Lutetia Museum.
250	The Four Winds. Mithraic scene.	Dieburg.
250	The Four Winds. Mithraic tauroctony.	Heddernheim.
250	Wind-god. Mithraic tauroctony.	Augusta Rauricorum.
250	Wind-god. Mithraic tauroctony.	Mainz LM 5569.
250	Wind-god symbolism on Mithraic Time-god.	Rome.
250	The Four Winds. Orphic/Mithraic relief.	Modena.
250	Wind-god. Phaethon sarcophagus.	Copenhagen NCG 783.
250	Wind-gods. Child's painted sarcophagus.	Latran.

250	Wind-gods. Leucippides sarcophagus.	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.32.
250	Wind-god. Sarcophagus.	Copenhagen NCG 791.
250	Wind-god. Sarcophagus.	Copenhagen NCG.
250	Wind-god. Endymion sarcophagus, Rome.	Palazzo Doria.
250	Wind-gods. Grave stele.	Aquincum.
250	Wind-gods. Cinerary urn from Rome.	Paris, CdM.
260	The Four Winds. Grave stele from Igel.	Trier.
300	A Wind. Terracotta plaque from Vienna.	Vienna.
300	The Four Winds. Glaucus mosaic.	Bardo Museum.
300	The Four Winds. Mosaic.	Avenches.
300	The Four Winds. Mosaic from Palermo.	Piazza della Vittoria.
300	Wind-gods. Sarcophagus from Rome.	Providence, Rhode Island.
300-400	Wind-gods. Sarcophagus.	London BM.
350	Four Winds. Mosaic from Tourmont.	<i>In situ</i> .
350	The Four Winds. Mithraic tauroctony.	Trier.
450	Four Winds. Wall-painting from Gaza.	Not extant.
450	Wind-gods. Jonah sarcophagus.	Copenhagen NCG.
450	Boreas and Zephyrus. Ivory diptych from Rome.	London BM 57.10-13.1.
550	The Four Winds. Mosaic from Kabr Hiram, Tyre.	Paris Louvre.

APPENDIX 3: CORPUS OF LITERATURE REGARDING WINDS.

	Acts of the Apostles 19.10; 27.13-15.	
	Book of Genesis, 41.	
	Book of James, 5.17.	
	Book of Psalms, 104.3-4.	
	First Book of Kings, 16.29- 18.	
	Gospel of St. Luke, 4.24.	
	<i>RgVeda</i> 5.63.6; 7.62.4.	tr. P. Thieme, in Hinnells (ed.), Manchester U.P.
Achilles Tatius	<i>The Epic of Gilgamesh</i> 6.4. <i>Leucippe and Clitophon</i> p.189.	tr. S. Dalley, Penguin. tr. J. J. Winkler, CAGN.
Acusilaus of Argos	<i>Genealogies</i> , B5, B19, B35.	tr. K. Freeman, <i>Presocratics</i> .
Adespota	frg.565.	In <i>TrGF</i> .
Aelian	<i>On Animals</i> 7.7.	tr. A. F. Scholfield, Loeb.
Aelian	<i>Varia Historia</i> 12.61.	tr. A. F. Scholfield, Loeb.
Aeschylus	<i>Agamemnon</i> 188-98, 214, 692.	tr. H. W. Smyth, Loeb.
Aeschylus	<i>Oreithuia</i> frg. F 281.	<i>TrGF</i> III.
Aeschylus	<i>Prometheus</i> 88.	tr. H. W. Smyth, Loeb.
Aesop	<i>Fables</i> 141, 143.	tr. S. A. Handford, Penguin.
Alcaeus	<i>To Love</i> frg.13, 38b.	tr. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb.
Alcaeus	frg. 1, ii, 8-20 + 2166 (b) 1.	tr. D. A. Campbell, Loeb.
Alcman	<i>PMG</i> 1.	tr. Bing and Cohen, Routledge.
Amphis	frg.27/48k.	tr. J. M. Edmonds, <i>FrAC</i> .
Anacreon	<i>Anacreonta</i> 41.	tr. D. A. Campbell, Loeb.
Anacreon	<i>PMG</i> 417.	tr. Bing and Cohen, Routledge.
Anaxagoras	frg.1, 2, 19.	tr. K. Freeman, <i>Ancilla</i> .
Anaximenes	frg.2.	tr. K. Freeman, <i>Ancilla</i> .
Anonymous	<i>A Paeon To Eurys.</i>	tr. D. A. Campbell, Loeb.
Anonymous	<i>Apollonius, King of Tyre</i> 11.	tr. G. N. Sandy, CAGN.
Anonymous	<i>Epigram</i> 72/AP 5.83.	tr. Bing and Cohen, Routledge.
Anonymous	<i>Orphic Hymns</i> 80-2.	<i>Orphei Hymni</i> .
Anonymous	<i>Panegyric of Maximian</i> 4.2.	tr. C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers, UCLA Press.
Anonymous	<i>Panegyric of Maximian and</i> <i>Constantius</i> 12.8.	tr. C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers, UCLA Press.
Antipater	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>	tr. W. R. Paton, Loeb.

Antiphon the Sophist	11.550.	
Apollodorus	frg.11, 29. <i>Bibliothēke</i> 1.2.4, 9.21; 3.15.1-3.	tr. K. Freeman, <i>Ancilla</i> . tr. R. Hard, OUP.
Apollodorus	<i>Epitome</i> 7.10.	tr. R. Hard, OUP.
Apollonius Rhodius	<i>Argonautica</i> 1.211-23, 1090-95, 1105-1161, 1300- 08, 1334; 2.177, 206, 234- 305, 426-441, 491-527, 992, 1099-1121; 3.1120; 4.145, 221, 284-6, 763-839, 1364-7, 1465-6, 1482-3, and <i>passim</i> .	tr. E. V. Rieu, Penguin.
Appian	<i>The Civil War</i> 5.11.98; 88- 9.	tr. H. White, Loeb.
Apuleius	<i>Metamorphoses</i> 4, 5 <i>passim</i> , esp. 5.26.7-27.2.	tr. E. J. Kenney, CUP.
Arateus	<i>Curatio Cardiacorum</i> 1.13.	In <i>CMG</i> .
Aratus	<i>Phainomena</i> 240-1, 422, 733ff.	tr. G. R. Mair, Loeb.
Archilochus	<i>Second Cologne Epode</i> .	tr. Bing and Cohen, Routledge.
Aristeas	frg. 5.2.	<i>PEG</i> p.151-2.
Aristonymus	<i>Boreas</i> frg.8.	<i>FrAC</i> I, p.489.
Aristophanes	<i>Birds</i> 594-7; 693ff, 1395ff..	tr. B. B. Rogers, Loeb.
Aristophanes	<i>Clouds</i> 344, 370ff, 1371-2.	tr. B. B. Rogers, Loeb.
Aristophanes	<i>Frogs</i> 1053.	tr. B. B. Rogers, Loeb.
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APPENDIX 4 : WINDS AND SHIPPING.

(i) Sea-currents and the winds.

The Mediterranean has one major circulation system, running in through the Straits of Gibraltar, joining with the outflow of the Black Sea, and returning to the Atlantic via the Italian coast. Amongst this flow are several highly complex and individualistic local systems relating to one particular patch of coast or open sea. Major currents are generated by a difference in salinity, which depends upon the influx of rivers, rainfall and melting ice to freshen the water; and the evaporation of the sea by the wind and sun, which increases salinity. Some 115,400cu.m./per second of water is evaporated from the Mediterranean, to be replaced by only a quarter of this amount⁷¹⁵; greater salinity equals greater density, so a more saline mass will sink to become an undercurrent, pushing fresher water upwards to become a sub-surface current. Amongst islands and close to shore, rip-currents, longshore currents and shorewards currents form; these are caused by a concentration of water in a local area and are very much ruled by topography - so, for example, many such currents can be found in a bay. Sea-currents are remarkably similar to the formation of wind-currents (breezes and local winds)⁷¹⁶, which was recognised by Aristotle, Theophrastus and Favonius, amongst others⁷¹⁷. Solitary wind currents occur in periods of strong winds (storms or squalls), which blow excess water masses away from the shore; a 40kn. (knot) wind will create a surface current of 1kn. Wind affects all sub-surface currents at whatever speed they blow at: current speed and direction are enhanced, slowed or reversed, depending upon which wind is blowing, and in which season (map 7). Ocean currents in the central Aegean, especially around the islands (which sit on a plateau of 200m depth surrounded by very deep water - 2700m in the Cretan Sea), are in the main generated by wind action, and are hence variable, with no one specific system, although there is a southerly trend. Such a confusion of water masses results in whirlpools of varying strengths and in shifting locations. The British Admiralty charts

⁷¹⁵ J. M. Morton, *supra* n.705: 40.

⁷¹⁶ It is worth noting that winds are named for the direction they blow from, whereas currents are named for the direction they run to; so the north wind comes from the north, but a northerly current runs from the south to the north.

⁷¹⁷ For example, Aristotle, *Problems* XXVI.940b 30ff.

for the area places current warnings at Stenon Kafiress (the strait between Euboea and Andros), to the north-east of Tinos, between Kea and Yiaros, and between Antiparos and Sikinos⁷¹⁸. The Stenon Kafiress, like the Euboean Gulf, is today heavily silted which presents a danger to navigation⁷¹⁹. Although a ship in antiquity would not encounter such a narrowing channel, the risk of running aground or foundering due to the nature of the current and the lie of the land was still a distinct possibility. The majority of local currents that run through and around the Cycladic islands travel at about 1kn, which varies with the wind, and the predominant currents trend southerly, although in the winter the south wind reverses this. It is easy to see why Horace, in *Odes* I.14.12ff, wrote:

Beware lest you [the ship] become
the laughing-stock of the winds.
Of late my acute disillusionment but now
my concern and not inconsiderable love,
avoid the seas that rush between
the glistening Cyclades.

Horace's ship is not a merchantman but stands as a metaphor for the Roman State; even so, Horace's other poems (see below) demonstrate his knowledge of sea-travel, and this metaphor is taken as far as it may go, the ship warned of the winds and contrary currents in the central Aegean being as fractious and stormy as political intriguing in the Roman senate.

Outside of the islands, there are three major currents that affect the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean: the Marmara Mass, the Cretan Sea current, and the Levantine/Turkish exchange. The Marmara Mass is a strong current carrying fresher and warmer water than that which circulates in the Aegean (due to the inflow of the Danube into the Black Sea), which exits the Hellespont into the north Aegean (map 8). It is not a stable current, fluctuating from east to west as it travels in a south-westerly direction, according to the time of year and density of the mass; the greatest outflow comes when the snows are thawing, and when the winds are most northerly, i.e., during late spring and early summer⁷²⁰. This current reaches speeds of up to 7kn

⁷¹⁸ The British Admiralty, chart no. 2682 : Kolpos Petalion to Nisos Nisiros, March 1995.

⁷¹⁹ Dr. A. Velegrakis, pers. comm.

⁷²⁰ R. Carpenter, "The Greek Penetration of the Black Sea", *AJA* 52 (1948): 5.

through the Hellespont, but once outside, it changes to the slower velocity of a 1-1.5kn speed (30-40cm/sec). The difficulty of traversing the Hellespont and Black Sea region is well-known, especially amongst Roman writers - for example, Ovid's *Heroides* XVII (Leander to Hero) retells the myth of the star-crossed lovers living on either side of the Hellespont, Leander swimming across the water to see Hero every day until Boreas stirs up a storm, when he drowns in the wind-tossed and roughened sea. Lucian also writes of the challenge of sailing up into the Black Sea against both the contrary current and the force of the north wind:

Good gracious, what a gust of wind! How it dispersed those clouds! For when the Zephyr was blowing fresh and driving the shipping over the waves, you've just stirred up a north wind throughout the Propontis, so that only by use of ropes will the merchantman pass to the Euxine, as wind and wave make them roll⁷²¹.

The 'ropes' that Lucian refers to are the rigging for the sails; a square-rigged ship (the most common rig of antiquity; triangular (gaff) rigs were used by the Phoenicians and Egyptians but they did not appeal to the Greeks or Romans quite as much as the square-rig) cannot sail directly into a headwind, particularly when the current is also running against it, but must tack at a careful angle - seven compass points or 80° away from the wind - unless it is willing to risk capsize or serious structural damage⁷²².

The Marmara Mass splits into two once in the Aegean, one stream trending eastwards along the Turkish coast as far as Çandarlı Körfezi (between Lesbos and Chios); the other, greater part continuing south-west out into the Mediterranean via the Cytheran Straits. Here it joins with the current running through the Cretan Sea, trending westerly at 2kn⁷²³. To the east of Crete the current runs to the south and is especially strong in winter, and to the south of the island there are weak and variable currents running between Crete and the African coast (map 9). The amalgam of the Cretan current and the Marmara Mass through the Cytheran Straits create a body of water moving at 2kn. through a dangerous area; between Cythera and Anticythera

⁷²¹ Lucian, *The Patriot* 3.

⁷²² D. E. McCaslin, *Stone Anchors in Antiquity*, SIMA LXI 1980: 101-2.

⁷²³ Although it does reverse to trend easterly in autumn and winter. Dr. A. Velegrakis, pers. comm.

there is a shallower channel than in the surrounding waters, which is possibly easier to manoeuvre a boat through⁷²⁴, although the Vythi Reef lies just seven metres below the surface. This current is so powerful that it has dumped an huge accretionary wedge of sediment just outside the Straits; once in the Mediterranean, the current continues its southerly motion as far as Libya. It is this same current that carried Odysseus and his men out past Malea to the Land of the Lotus-Eaters⁷²⁵.

To the east, the Levantine/Turkish circulation (map 10) is a fairly stable one. This system centres on Cyprus, around which the water moves in an anticlockwise direction; as the Cretan and Levantine seas are equal in temperature and salinity, there is no vigorous exchange of water except in the spring, notably March-April, when the eastern Aegean current runs at 4kn⁷²⁶, emerging back into the Aegean through the Rhodes channel. This system was often used as the 'tramp route' by ships travelling from Egypt or the Near East (especially Syria) back into the Aegean, as it acts as a kind of 'sling-shot' effect and is quicker and easier than attempting to sail against the current and wind, particularly in the earlier periods of trans-Mediterranean shipping. It is therefore no surprise that the major ports of the Middle east (Sidon, Antioch, Beirut and Tyre, for example) became so well-established on the navigational aids, the *periploi*.

Parker, in his catalogue of ancient wrecks, says that around one thousand wrecks have been recorded in Greek waters, of which he knows of eighty-four⁷²⁷. However, an estimated 40,000 ancient ships have been lost in the Mediterranean as a whole since prehistory⁷²⁸, suggesting the possibility of at least 14,000 more wrecks unaccounted for in Greek waters alone; the majority of these will never be recovered, but it is a figure worth bearing in mind. Parker's maps (map 11 and 12) specify wreck locations and form a useful 'black spot' guide. This fulfils a dual purpose: firstly, it shows that the (majority of) wreck locations are situated on trade routes, or routes used by shipping for other purposes, and secondly, many wreckings are accidental,

⁷²⁴ The British Admiralty, chart no.180: The Aegean Sea, June 1995.

⁷²⁵ *Odyssey* IX.70.

⁷²⁶ Dr. A. Velegrakis, pers. comm.

⁷²⁷ A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR Int. Series 580, 1992: 6.

⁷²⁸ W. Bascom, *supra* n.70 ¶ 32.

caused by natural forces, and on looking at the maps, the 'black spots' occur mainly on coastal areas with known swift and strong currents and winds. For reasons set out in the Introduction above, these currents and winds will have been similar in antiquity to those of today; and while we cannot tell what time of year these ships set sail, we must assume that they were sailing in season, and not in the winter when the sea is at its worst and wrecking would be more common.

The following list of wreck sites is taken and adapted from Parker's catalogue, and shows a sample range of wrecks from different periods in different locations about the Mediterranean. All are areas considered as part of major shipping routes for both the Greeks and Romans. The entries are arranged as follows: the number refers to the site location on the maps, the name of the wreck, the date of the wreck. Site areas are listed clockwise from Chios within the Aegean.

Chios:

- 19 Ai-Yannis Tholou I, 4th century B.C.
- 20 Ai-Yiannis Tholou II, 2nd century B.C.
- 62 Atalanti Bay, 1st century A.D.
- 71 Ay. Stephanos, 6-7th century A.D.
- 357 Delphinion, 5-6th century A.D.
- 552 Komi I, 5-4th century B.C. (on rocks).
- 553 Komi II, Roman (on rocks).
- 900 Prasso Islands, 5-7th century A.D.

This location is a particularly high-risk area, being subject not only to local near-shore and off-shore currents, but also carrying the remnants of the Marmara Mass as it rejoins its main body just above Chios. Being close to the Asia Minor coastline creates strong wind funnelling during the bora and meltemi season, and two of the ships were wrecked on the rocks, perhaps driven aground by the wind.

Southern Anatolia:

- (i) Bodrum (Halicarnassus)
- 491 Gümüslük (Myndus), 4th century A.D.
- 534 Karabagla, 1st century A.D. (on reef).
- 559 Küçük Keramit, 300 B.C.
- 1239 Yassi Ada I, 626 A.D. (on reef).
- 1240 Yassi Ada II, 4-5th century A.D. (on reef).

(ii) Iskandil Burnu.

518 Iskandil Burnu I, 6th century A.D.

519 Iskandil Burnu II, 3rd century A.D.

(iii) Serçe Limani.

1070 Serçe Limani I, 1025 A.D.

1071 Serçe Limani II, 300-270 B.C.

1072 Serçe Limani III, 150-100 B.C.

1073 Serçe Limani IV, 3rd-1st century B.C.

(iv) Lycia.

208 Cape Gelidonya I, 2100 B.C.

209 Cape Gelidonya II, 50-25 B.C.

210 Cape Gelidonya III, date unknown.

211 Cape Gelidonya IV, late Byzantine.

537 Kas, 13-14th century A.D.

538 Kastellórizon, 13th century A.D.

1193 Ulu Burun, 1325 B.C.

1194 Ulu Burun area, 10-12th century A.D.

The entire jagged coastline of south and south-west Asia Minor has the Levantine/Turkish circulation system predominating; centred on Cyprus, it also formed one of the major trade routes from the Late Bronze age onwards, exiting into the Aegean around Rhodes and wending back up the Carian and Ionian coasts. This is also an area subject to sirocco squalls and high wind speeds. Matters are complicated around the Bodrum area due to the presence of a sunken island chain, known as the Yassi Ada reef, which extends 200m WSW from Lodo Island. The wind in this region causes problems even today; the fishing village of Datça, east of Cnidus (which is close to the Iskandil Burnu wrecks) on the same promontory, is sometimes unapproachable from the Gulf of Sombeki on which it is built, so a new harbour has been constructed on the opposite side of the promontory, on the more sheltered Bay of Gökova⁷²⁹. This is the multiple wreck site of Serçe Limani, still a dangerous, rocky area guarded by two lighthouses⁷³⁰. Indeed, Parker states that the first of these wrecks foundered due to a change in weather⁷³¹, possibly a sudden squall since it was so unexpected. The Lycian sites include some of the most famous of the Mediterranean

⁷²⁹ D. M. Williams, pers. comm.

⁷³⁰ Bod-Info's map of Bodrum and Environs, August 1988 (Turkish publication).

⁷³¹ A. J. Parker, *supra* n.727: 398.

wrecks, those of Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun. Cape Gelidonya itself was the marker point for ships using the current's 'tramp route' to return to the Aegean; after hugging the Levantine and Cypriote coasts, the ship would cross open sea of some 130 n.m. to reach Cape Gelidonya and start coasting once more. This journey would take perhaps two days in bad weather; with the winds here as fickle as they are at Bodrum, it is little wonder that a perhaps weary crew would be caught out by the wind and coastal geography, making the Cape Gelidonya area a formidable wrecking site.

The Cytheran Straits:

44 Anticythera I, 80 B.C. (on the rocks).

45 Anticythera II, 1-5th century A.D. (on the rocks).

564 St. Nicolo, Cythera, 50 B.C.-110 A.D.

1128 Tainaron (Cp. Matapan), 13th century A.D.

Despite the archaeological evidence (or apparent lack of it), the Cytheran Straits contain some of the most dangerous waters in the Mediterranean. With the combination of the Marmara Mass and the Cretan current system together, the bora or meltemi striking, the Vythi reef, and numerous squalls occurring off Capes Matapan and Malea, this is akin to a mariner's nightmare even today. Ships exercising caution could navigate safely through the Straits, but it is certain that many others were not so fortunate: it is not surprising that Tainaron is named as one of the few earthly entrances to Hades.

The Saronic Gulf:

362 Dhokós, 2200 B.C. (E.H II-III).

363 Dhrapi, 250-50 B.C.

510 Hydra, 3-1st century B.C.

808 Petrokaravo reef, 5-4th century B.C.

870 Cp. Dana cliffs, Poros, 500-480 B.C.

The Saronic Gulf is not affected by the stronger Aegean currents, but it is influenced by fierce off-shore winds, as well as feeling the effects of the bora/meltemi in season. The Dhokós wreck is one of the earliest known shipwrecks in the world; only its cargo survives (wine amphorae and pottery connected with symposia).

Euboea:

562 Cynosaura Point, nr. Marathon, 4th century B.C.

650 Marathon, 5-4th century B.C.

981 Rhamnous, date unknown.

982 Rhaphina, 1st century B.C.

The Euboean wrecks are mainly situated on the south of that gulf as it opens out into the Petalion Gulf. This is an area of strong wind funnelling, and in addition, is quite shallow (as little as two metres deep in places), which causes many ships to run aground. This is certainly true of the wreck at Cynasaurα Point, and Braemer and Marcadé comment: "to evaluate the number of ancient ships, small and large, which sank at Cape Stomi would be very hazardous"⁷³². One must also remember that it was at the entrance to the gulf separating Euboea from the mainland that the Persian fleet was wrecked by Boreas in the August (meltemi) season of 480 B.C.

The Cyclades:

440 Gávrión (Andros), 5-3rd century B.C.

545 Kimolos, 4th century B.C.

791 Naousa Bay I (Paros), 1st century A.D.

792 Naousa Bay II (Paros), 1st century A.D.

1016 Saliagos, Roman period.

1075 Livadhi Bay (Seriphos), 220-225 B.C.

Again, like the findings from the Cytheran Straits, a surprising result; one would have expected several wrecks on Amorgos, Naxos, Melos and Ios as an area of uncertain and shifting currents, and some extremely strong winds and squalls throughout the year, the latter subject to funnelling through the Naxos-Paros strait to name but one area. We may imagine the Kimolan and Saliagan wrecks to be victims of funnelled winds; the Seriphos wreck is close to a reef and may have run aground, while the Naousa Bay area is open to strong northerlies which may also explain the wreck sites within this region.

Central Italy:

64-7 Averno (four ships), Roman period.

565 Ladispoli A (Tuscany), 1-15 A.D.

566 Ladispoli B, 25-100 A.D.

647 Maratea A, 50 A.D.

⁷³² Quoted in A.J. Parker, *supra* n.727: 231.

- 648 Maratea B, 25-260 A.D.
 649 Maratea C, 3-4th century A.D.

Many Roman wrecks on this side of Italy are to be found in the wide mouths of rivers running into the sea. Caught overlaid with goods in a swell or changing current from the ocean, or a sudden squall from the west, the crew would be forced to abandon ship rather than attempt to turn her about in the face of adverse conditions. It is a common phenomenon even today when a mist rolls in to obscure familiar landmarks, and when the harbour one thought of as safe turns into a death-trap; the recent discovery of at least nine (and with good indications of many more) ships from the Republican period through to Late Antiquity from the mouth of the River Auser in Pisa⁷³³ points to this occurrence as being common in antiquity also.

South-east Italy:

- 6 Acque Chiare, 300-450 A.D.
 117 Brindisi, 12th century A.D.
 596 Lido di St'Anna, 150-25 B.C.
 951 Punta Penne A (Brindisi), 150-25 B.C.
 952 Punta Penne B, 150-225 A.D.
 1151 Torre Castellucia A, 3rd century A.D.
 1152 Torre Castellucia B, ?3rd century A.D.

This region was one of the busiest in terms of sea-voyaging, being the closest crossing-point to Greece and therefore the rest of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. There are only a few wreck sites around Brindisi (Brundisium), and again, one would expect more. Many Roman writers sailed from this site, and complained about the bad weather that threatened them (see main text, 4.6 above).

The main problem with these wrecks is that, often, the storm that destroyed them also buried them in the silt of the ocean floor. The ships at Pisa and Punta Penne had been hidden for years, and it is only chance conditions that uncovered them again - a construction site dug into the mud, a storm uncovering the remains of the hull - so how many other thousands of vessels still lie awaiting discovery? Many ships that

⁷³³ A. L. Slayman, "A Cache of Vintage Ships", *Archaeology* July-August 1999: 36-9. My thanks to Mr. Sinclair Bell for drawing my attention to this article and its predecessor from the *International Herald Tribune* Italian supplement.

sank will not be recovered without serious problems - those that were wrecked on the Kytheran Straits, for example, are probably now buried beneath tons of tephra and silt dumped outside the Straits by the Marmara Mass. Those that sank in the Cretan Sea and hit the bottom are too deep for divers to reach without highly specialist equipment, and raising the craft from a (relatively) shallow area like the Israeli coast would cost billions of pounds⁷³⁴. Even with close excavation, it is sometimes impossible to tell what wrecked the ship in the first place; damage inflicted by its collapse to the bottom, and the rotting of the timbers makes it difficult to estimate the point of impact, if there was one. For the ships such as the newly-discovered Phoenician wrecks, or those at Pisa, which were preserved intact by the layers of mud on top of them, there appears to be little or no structural damage, indicating that probably the ship was overwhelmed by the winds and waves, possibly rolling and taking on water before foundering. The lack of human remains at many of the sites suggests that the crew nearly always made good their escape, at least away from their stricken ship if not to dry land. Wrecking was a hazard that all mariners - merchantmen, soldiers, travellers, and saints - had to face, and while the *periploi* and charts could be studied, the windrose consulted, and the signs from seabirds and jellyfish read, there was still no surefire way of ensuring a calm and safe journey across the seas. The currents move in the direction that the wind chooses, and nobody yet can properly read the vagaries of the wind.

⁷³⁴ M. Kalman, "Titanic man finds world's oldest ships 1000ft down", *The Sunday Times* 27th June 1999.

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Fig.1. Zetes abducts Phoibe; hydria from Ruvo by the Meleager Painter, c.380 B.C.

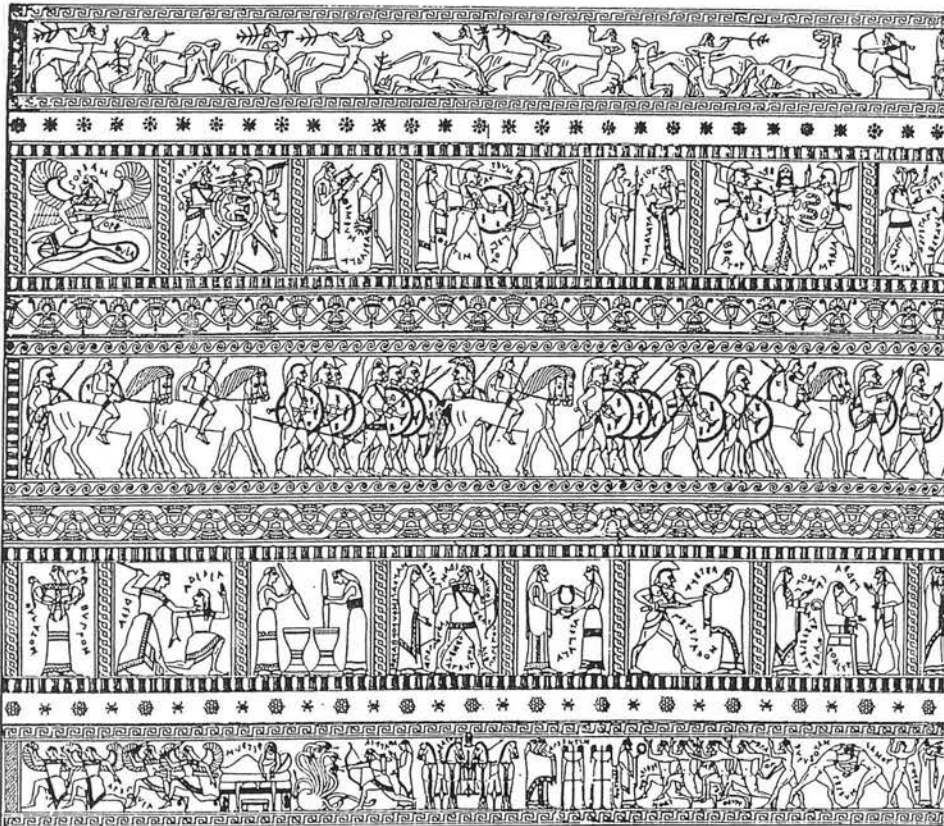


Fig.2. Boreas abducts Oreithuia (top left panel), The Chest of Kypselos, after Paus.V.19.1; c.650-625 B.C.

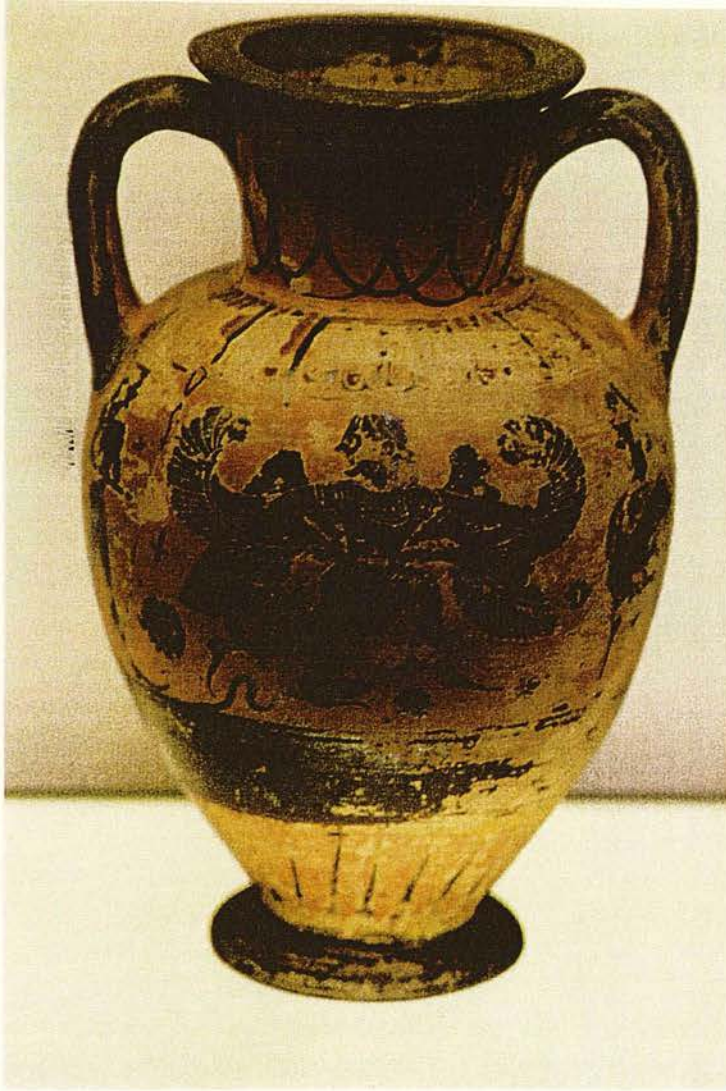


Fig.3. Boreas accompanied by Hermes, a sphinx and a bird. South Italian neck-amphora, attributed to the Memnon Group, c.520 B.C.

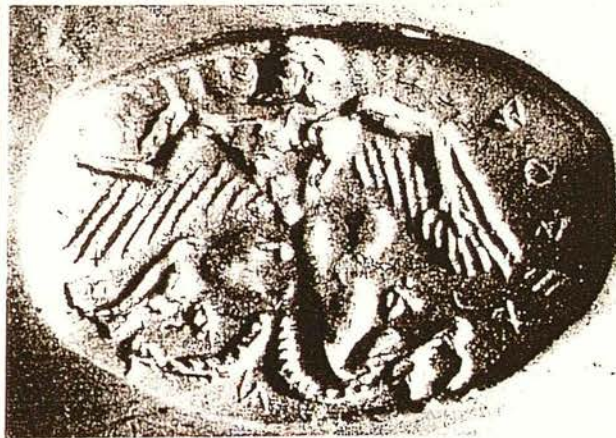


Fig.4. Boreas, on an archaic gemstone from Brauron, c.500 B.C.



Fig.5. Janiform Boreas at the Panathenaea, by the Berlin Painter; from Chiusi, c.480 B.C.

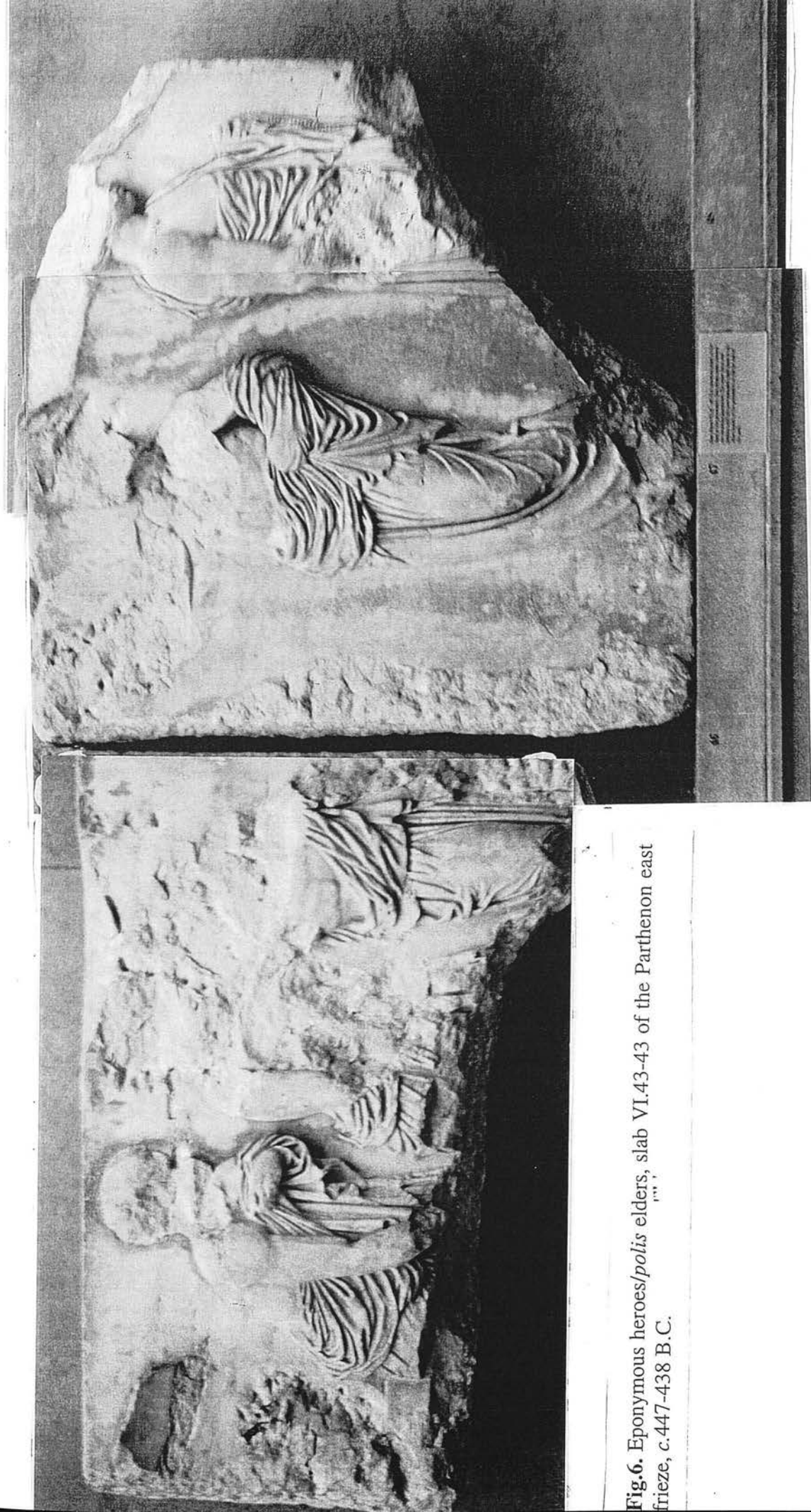


Fig. 6. Eponymous heroes/*polis* elders, slab VI.43-43 of the Parthenon east frieze, c. 447-438 B.C.



Fig.7. Procession of maidens, slab VIII.57-61 of the Parthenon east frieze, c.447-438 B.C.



Fig.8. Herakles, Geryon and Orthros. Attic cup by Euphronios, from Vulci, c.510 B.C.



Fig.9. Boreas abducts Oreithuia while Herse (right) runs to help, Pandrosos flees to the left; an unknown girl addresses Kekrops while Aglauros approaches Erechtheus. Attic pointed amphora by the Oreithuia Painter, c.480-475 B.C.

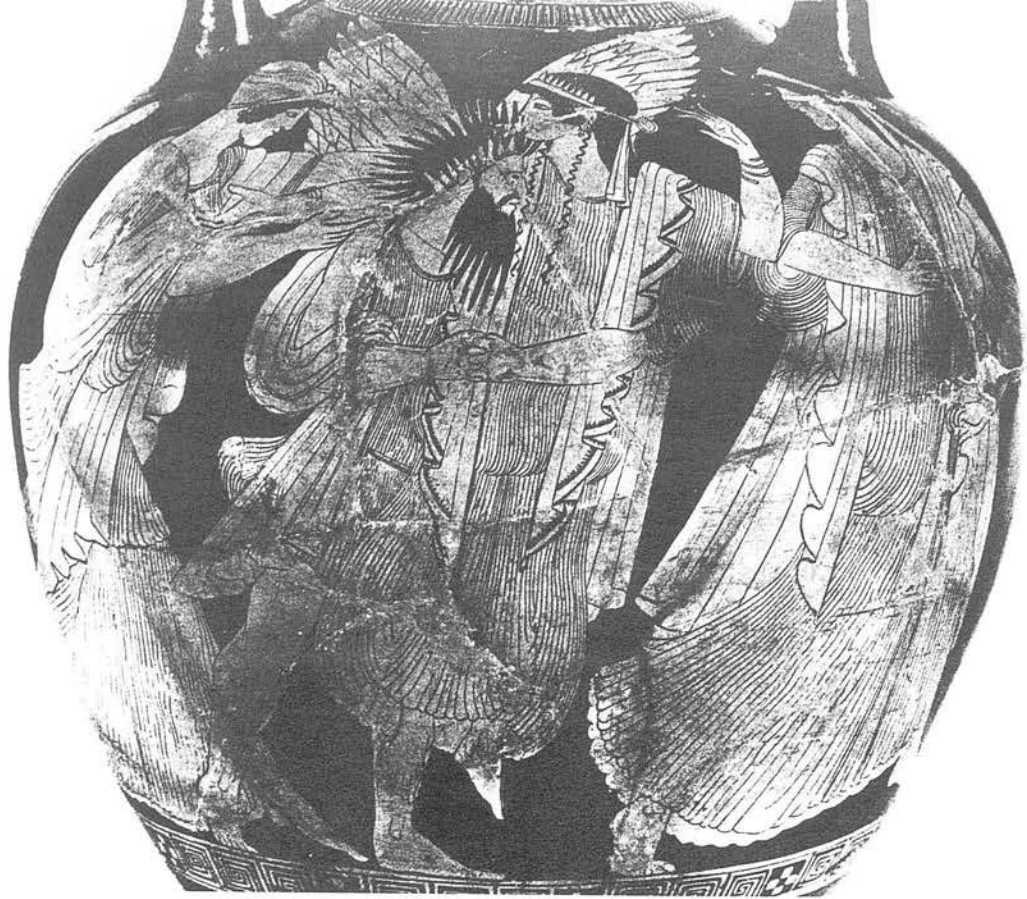


Fig.10. Boreas abducts Oreithuia as before; notice the crown of icicles on his head. Attic pointed amphora by the Oreithuia Painter, c.480-475 B.C.

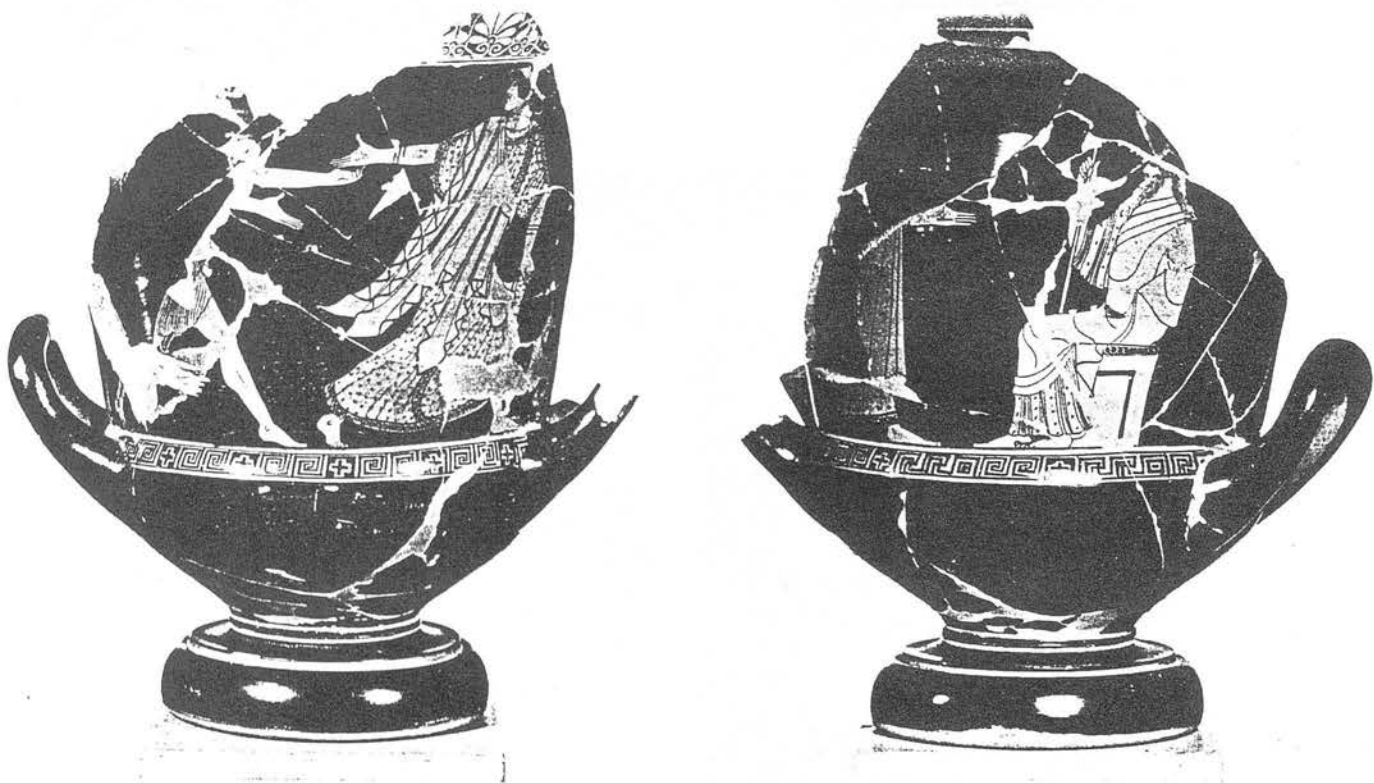


Fig.11. Boreas abducts Oreithuia; Erechtheus seated on a throne. Attic kalyx-krater, c.480-470 B.C.



Fig.12. Boreas abducts Oreithuia while Erechtheus mourns his loss. Attic oinochoe from Vulci, by the Pan Painter, c.480-470 B.C.

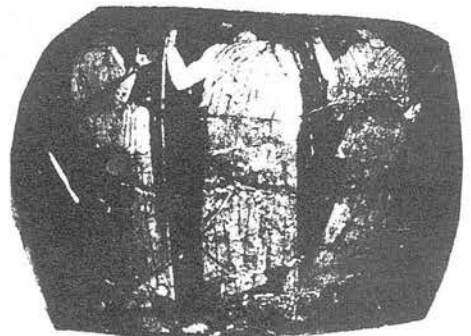


Fig.13. Boreas abducts Oreithuia; notice the palm-tree. Attic volute-krater from Bologna, by the Boreas Painter, c.470 B.C.



Fig.14. Boreas abducts Oreithuia; notice the intimate locked gazes of the couple. Attic hydria, c.470 B.C.



Fig.15. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic pelike from Cerveteri by Hermonax, c.470-460 B.C.



Fig.16. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic stamnos by Hermonax, c.470-460 B.C.

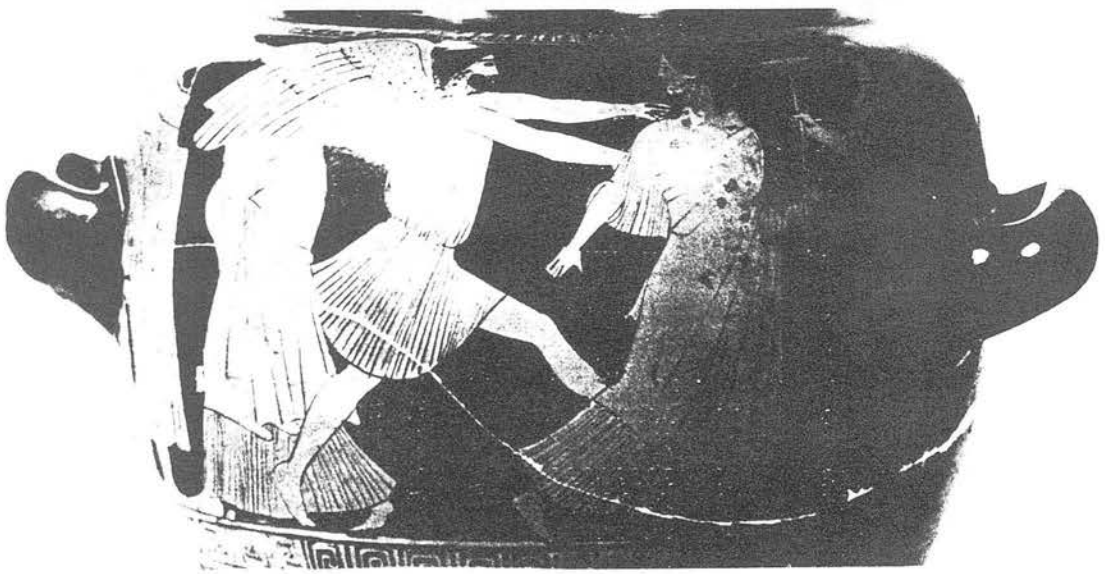


Fig.17. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic stamnos by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, c.470-460 B.C.



Fig.18. Thracian Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic pelike from Cerveteri, by the Painter of the Athena's Birth, c.460 B.C.

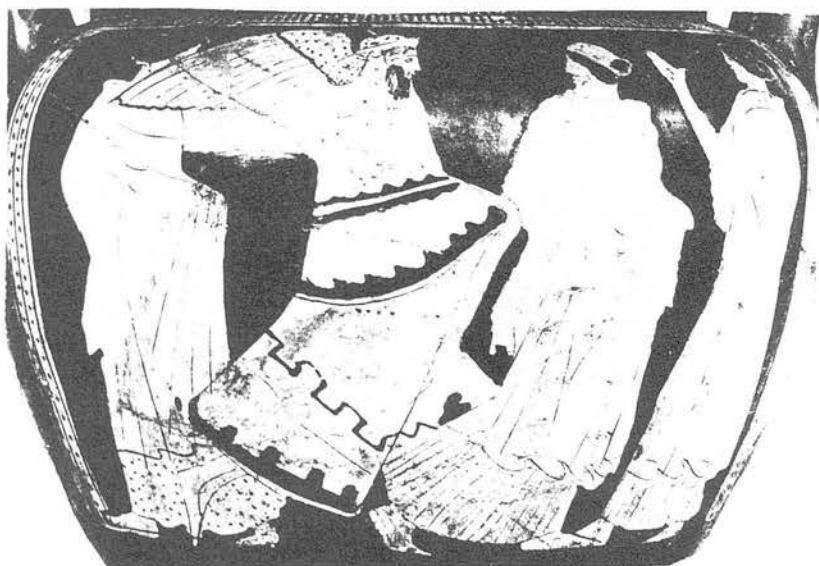


Fig.19. Thracian Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic volute-krater, c.460 B.C.



Fig.20. Athena intervenes between Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic pelike by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.

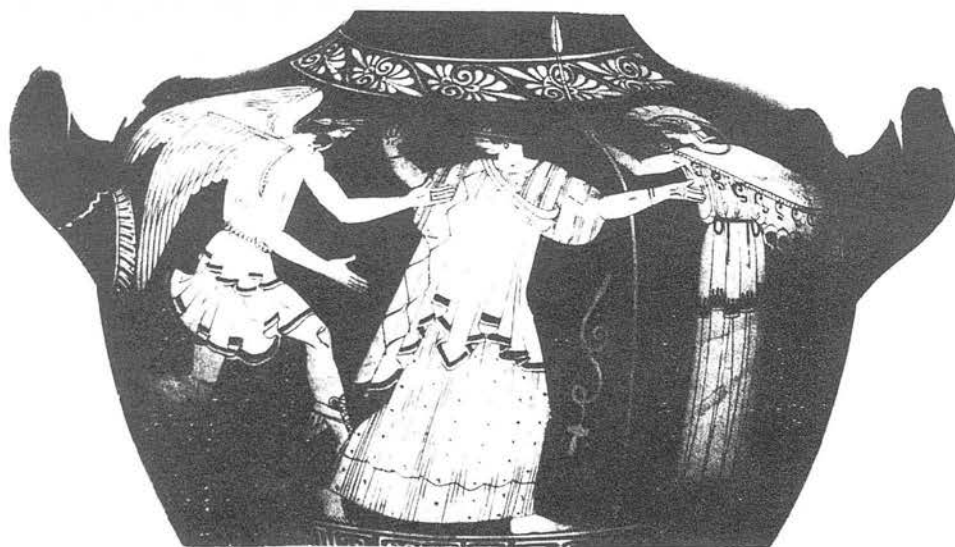


Fig.21. Athena watches Boreas abduct Oreithuia. Attic hydria by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.



Fig.22. Athena intervenes between Boreas and Oreithuia. Attic hydria by the Niobid Painter, *c.*460-450 B.C.



Fig.23. Athena watches Boreas abduct Oreithuia; notice the Nereid clutching a dolphin, bottom right. Attic hydria by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.



Fig.24. Youthful Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic kalyx-krater by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.



Fig.25. Youthful Boreas abducts Oreithuia; notice the altar and ceremonial dress of the watching men. Attic volute-krater from Spina by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.



Fig.26. Youthful Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic volute-krater from Smyrna by the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 B.C.



Fig.27. Boreas abducts Oreithuia from a water-fountain; notice the fallen hydria. Attic hydria, c.450 B.C.



Fig.28. Boreas abducts Oreithuia from a water-fountain; notice the fallen hydria. Attic hydria, c.440 B.C.



Fig.29. Boreas abducts Oreithuia from a water-fountain; notice the fallen hydria (facing the viewer in a three-dimensional representation). Attic bell-krater by the Christie Painter, c.440 B.C.

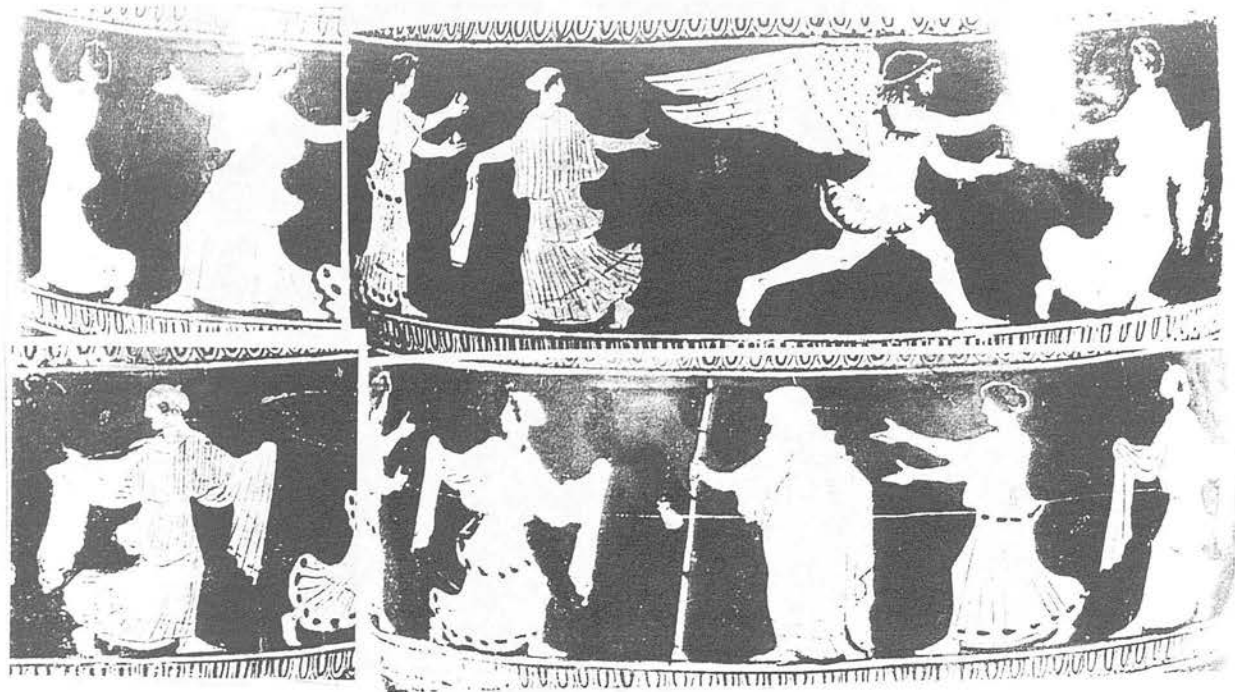


Fig.30. Boreas abducts Oreithuia while women carry offerings to pacify the deity (top left and third from the left), while another runs off with a wineskin (left of Boreas). Attic belly-lekythos, c.450 B.C.

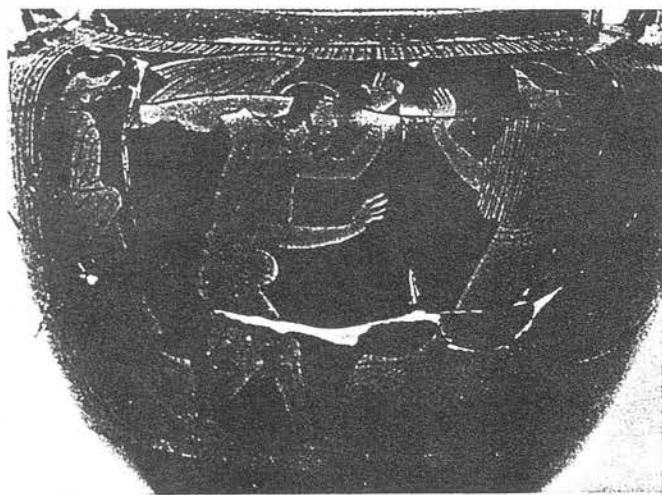


Fig.31. A comic Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Attic column-krater from Gela, by the Nausikaa Painter, c.450-440 B.C.



Fig.32. Boreas leaps through the air to abduct Oreithuia; notice the wings at his temples. Attic pelike, c.450-440 B.C.

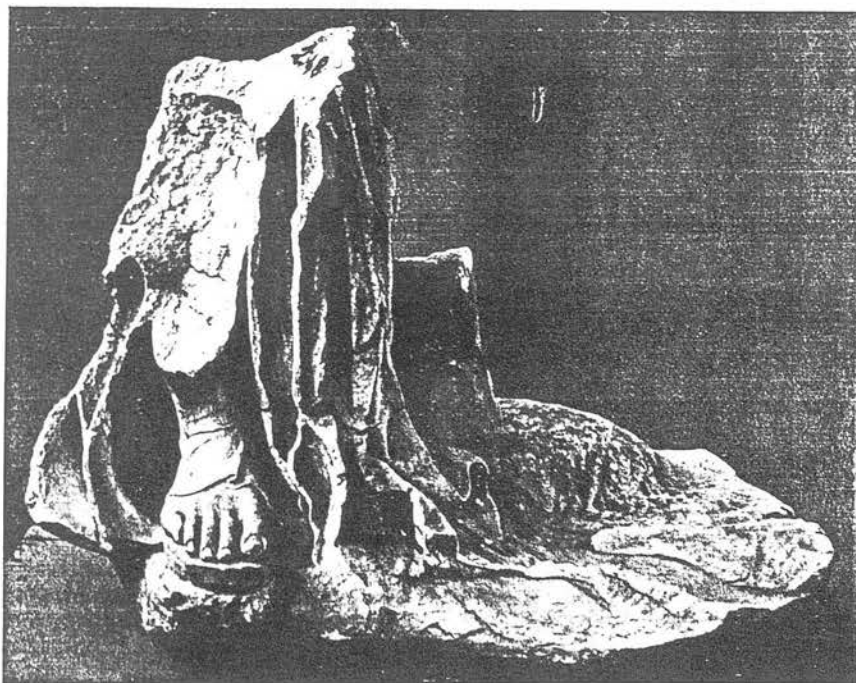


Fig.33. Fragmentary remains of akroterial sculpture showing Boreas abducting Oreithuia. From the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, by Agorakritos, c.430 B.C.

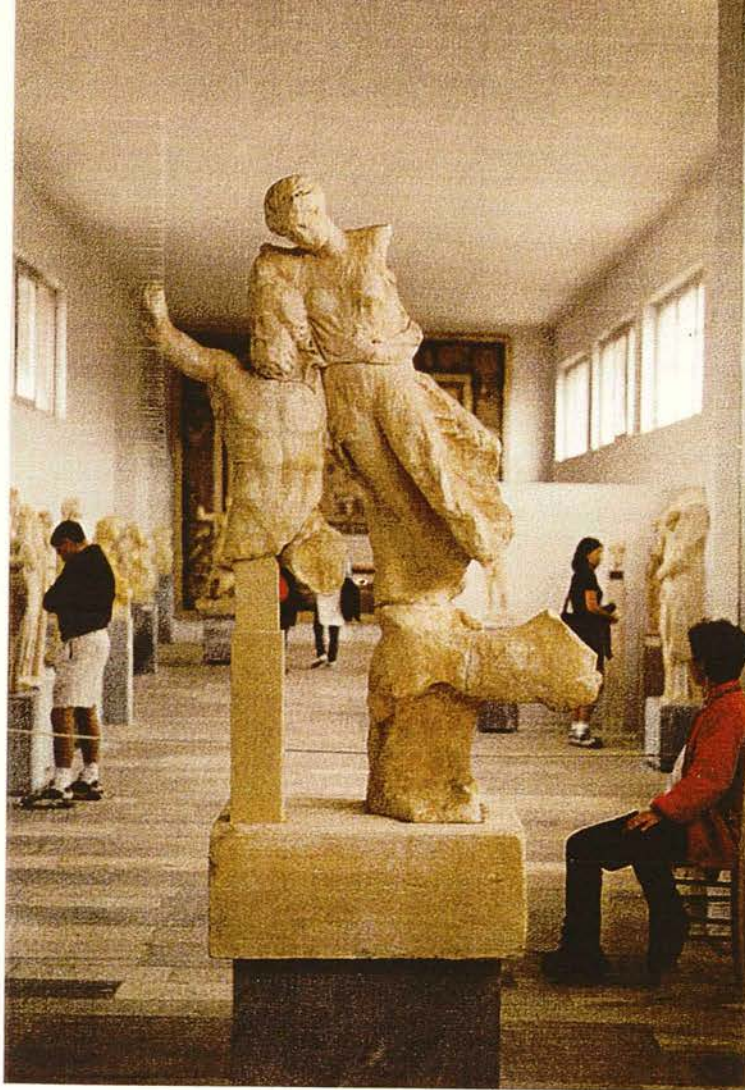


Fig.34. Boreas abducts Oreithuia while a horse dashes away to the right.
From the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, c.420 B.C.

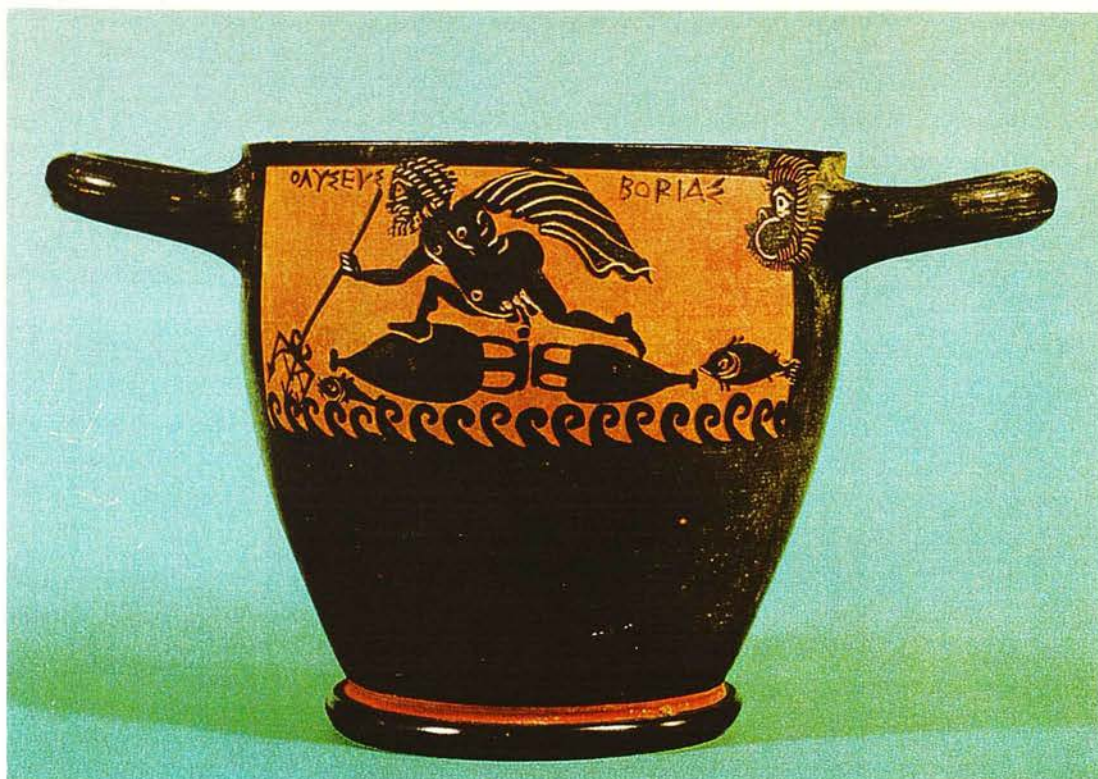


Fig.35. Boreas blows Odysseus across the sea. Boeotian skyphos from the
Theban Kabeirion sanctuary, from the Workshop of the Mystae Painter,
c.440-430 B.C.



Fig.36. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Campanian lekythos, c.370-360 B.C.



Fig.37. Boreas abducts Oreithuia amidst a riot of foliage. Apulian oinochoe by the Salting Painter, c.410-400 B.C.



Fig.38. Boreas abducts Oreithuia amongst vegetation. Apulian amphora by the Darius Painter, c.360-350 B.C.

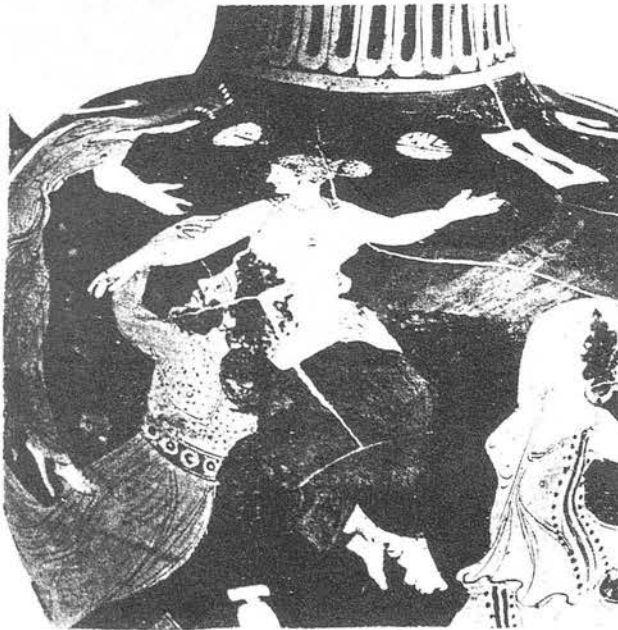


Fig.39. Boreas abducts Oreithuia, scattering cult objects in his wake, while Aphrodite looks on. Campanian hydria from Capua by the Capuan Boreas Painter, c.370-360 B.C.



Fig.40. 'Movie poster' scene from a satyr-drama of *Oreithuia*. Boreas abducts Oreithuia, watched by Aphrodite (top left), a priestess of Athena (top right), while a girl drops to her knees and Silenos exits stage left. Apulian volute-krater by the Lykourgos Painter, c.360-350 B.C.



Fig.41. Thracian Boreas abducts Oreithuia, watched by (l-r) Peitho, Aphrodite and Eros. Campanian bell-krater from Capua by the Ixion Painter, c.330 B.C.

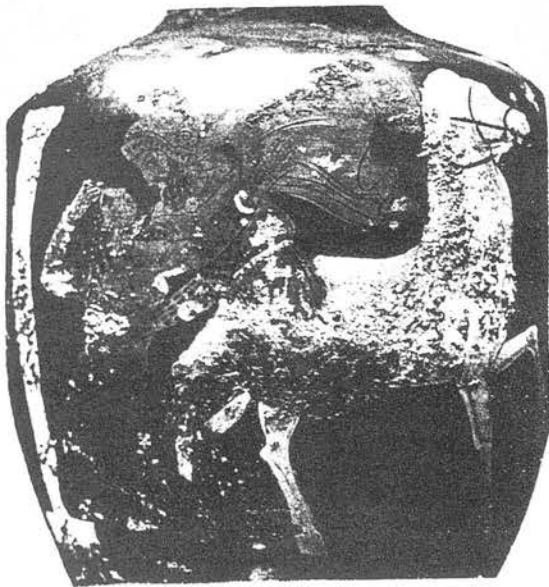


Fig.42. Thracian Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Campanian hydria by the Ixion Painter Group, c.330 B.C.



Fig.43. Boreas marries Oreithuia, witnessed by Erechtheus and Athena.
Silver rhyton from Tarento, *c.*410-400 B.C.



Fig.44. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Bronze hydria attachment from Mesembria, c.400-375 B.C.



Fig.45. Boreas abducts Oreithuia. Terracotta figured lekythos, c.350-300 B.C.



Fig.46. Zephyros abducts Hyakinthos. Attic cup from Tarquinia by Douris, c.490-480 B.C.



Fig.47. Zephyros abducts Hyakinthos; notice the lyre. Attic cup from Nola in the manner of Douris, c.480 B.C.



Fig.48a. Zephyros abducts Hyakinthos. Attic cup in the manner of Douris, c.480 B.C.



Fig.48b. Zephyros abducts Hyakinthos. Reconstruction of 48a.

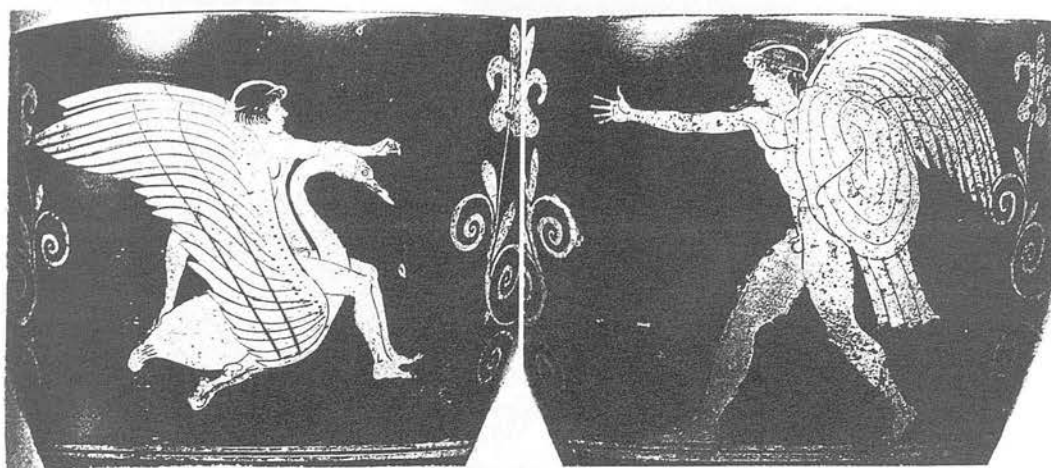


Fig.49. Zephyros beseeches Hyakinthos, who sits astride Apollo's swan. Attic skyphos by the Zephyros Painter, c.470 B.C.



Fig.50. Zephyros pursues Hyakinthos. Attic skyphos by the Zephyros Painter, c.470 B.C.



Fig.51.Eos chases Kephalos. Attic skyphos by the Lewis Painter, c.470 B.C.



Fig.52.Eos chases Kephalos/Khione pursues a youth. Attic skyphos by the Lewis Painter, c.470 B.C.

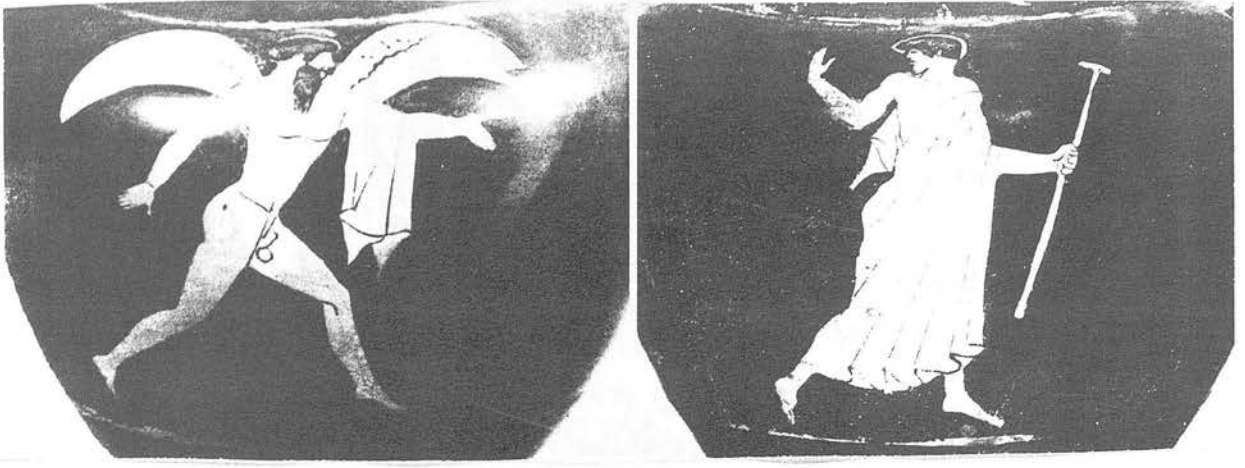


Fig.53. Bearded Zephyros pursues Hyakinthos. Attic column-krater from Spina by the Eucharides Painter, c.470 B.C.



Fig.55. Zephyros beseeches Hyakinthos. Lucanian bell-krater by the Pisticci Painter, c.440-430 B.C.



Fig.54. Zephyros and Hyakinthos. Attic white-ground double-sided 'bobbin' by the Penthesilea Painter, c.460 B.C.

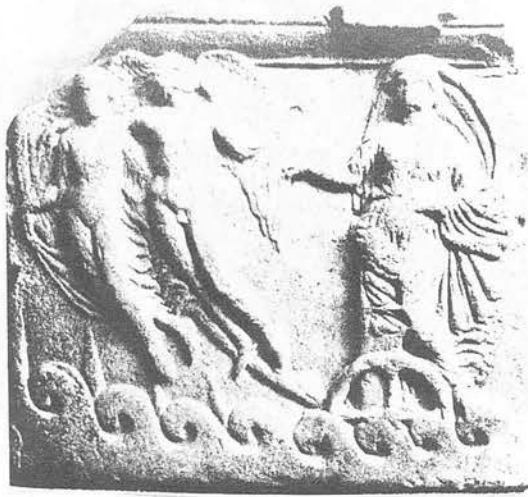


Fig.56. Zephyros and Iris drawing Aphrodite's chariot. Terracotta plaque from Taranto. c.470-460 B.C.

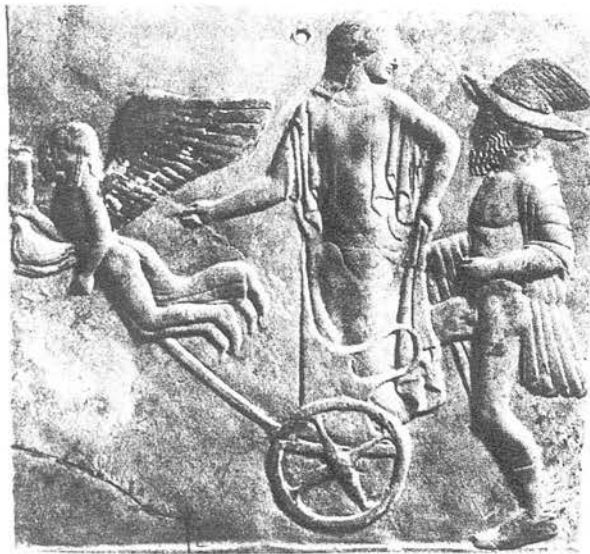


Fig.57. Zephyros and Iris drawing Aphrodite's chariot. Terracotta plaque from Lokris, c.470-460 B.C.



Fig.58. Zephyros and Iris. Bronze hydria attachment from Samsun, c.350-300 B.C.

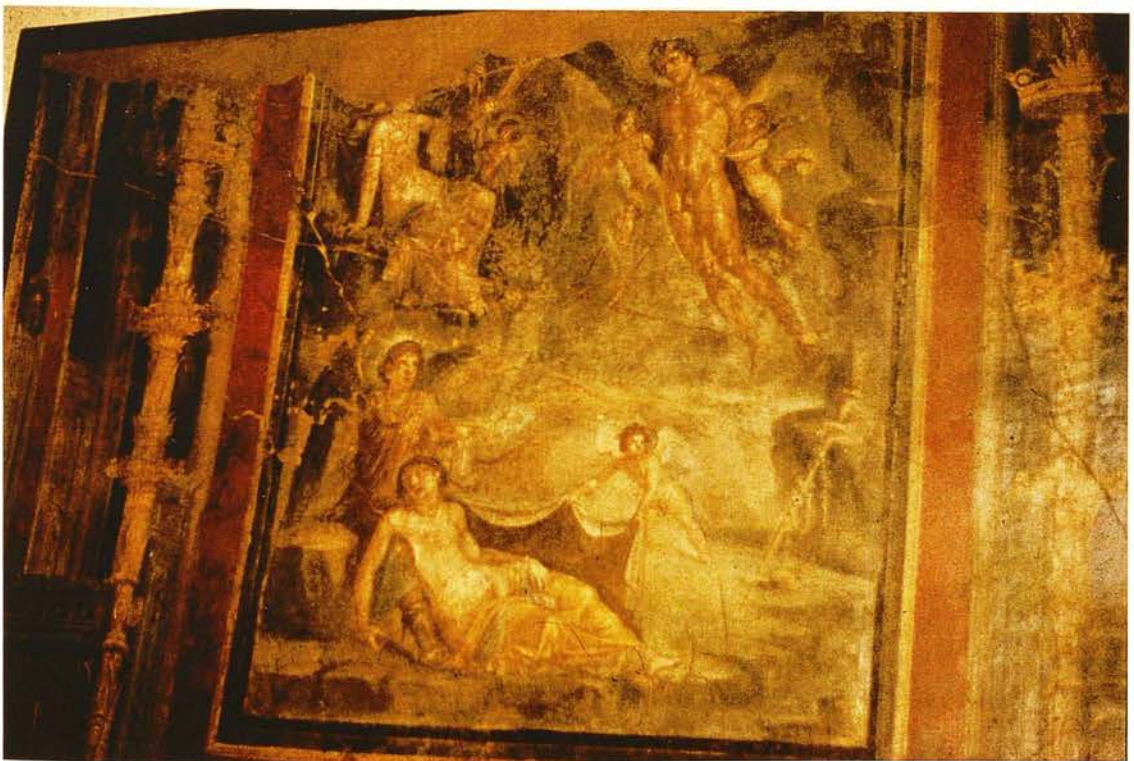


Fig.59. Zephyros and Chloris-Flora accompanied by Peitho and Erotes. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Navigio, 70-79 A.D.

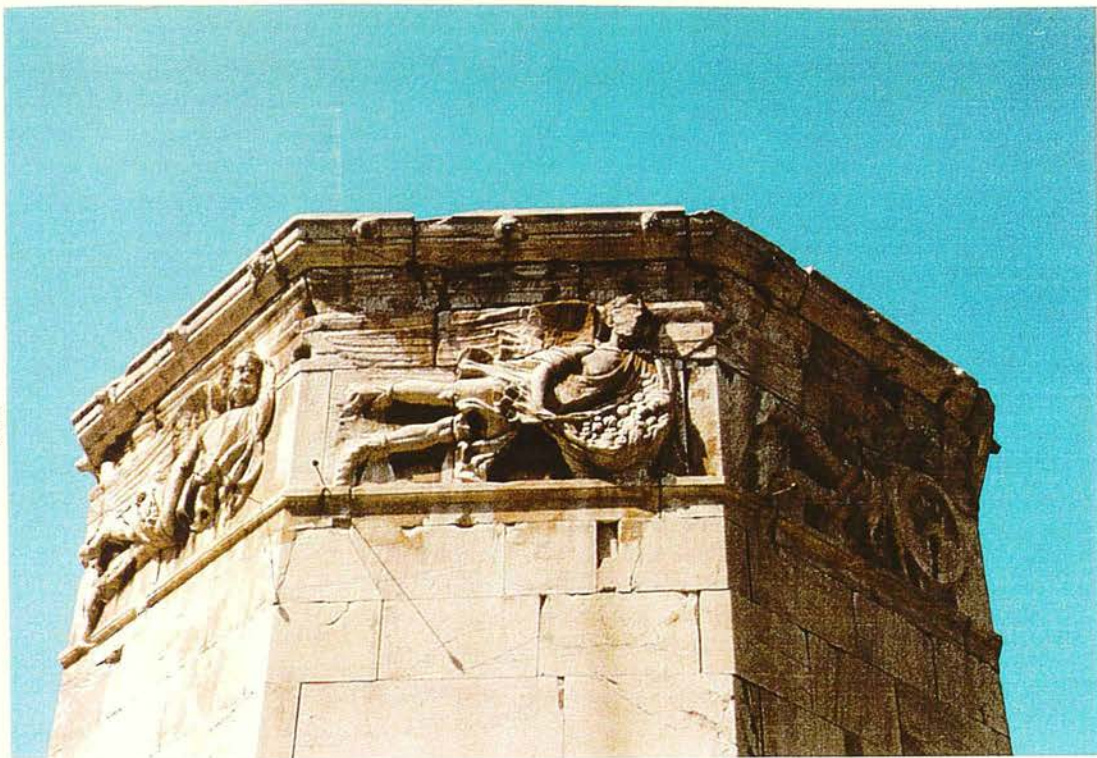


A.

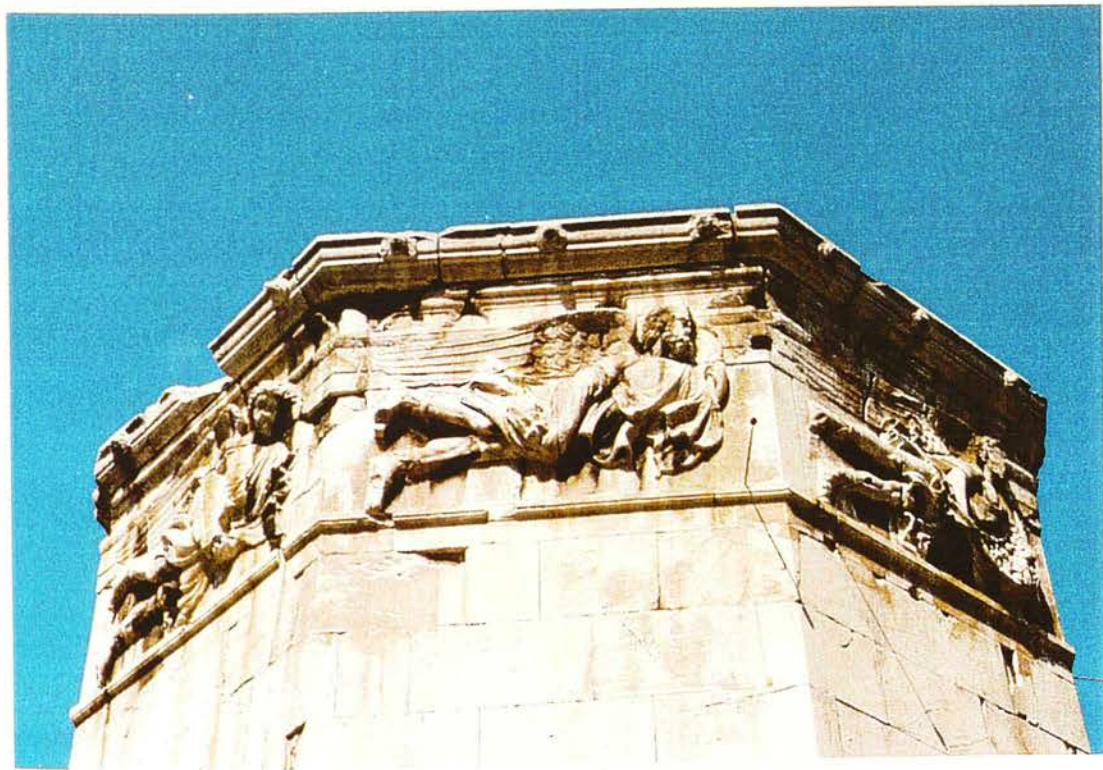


B.

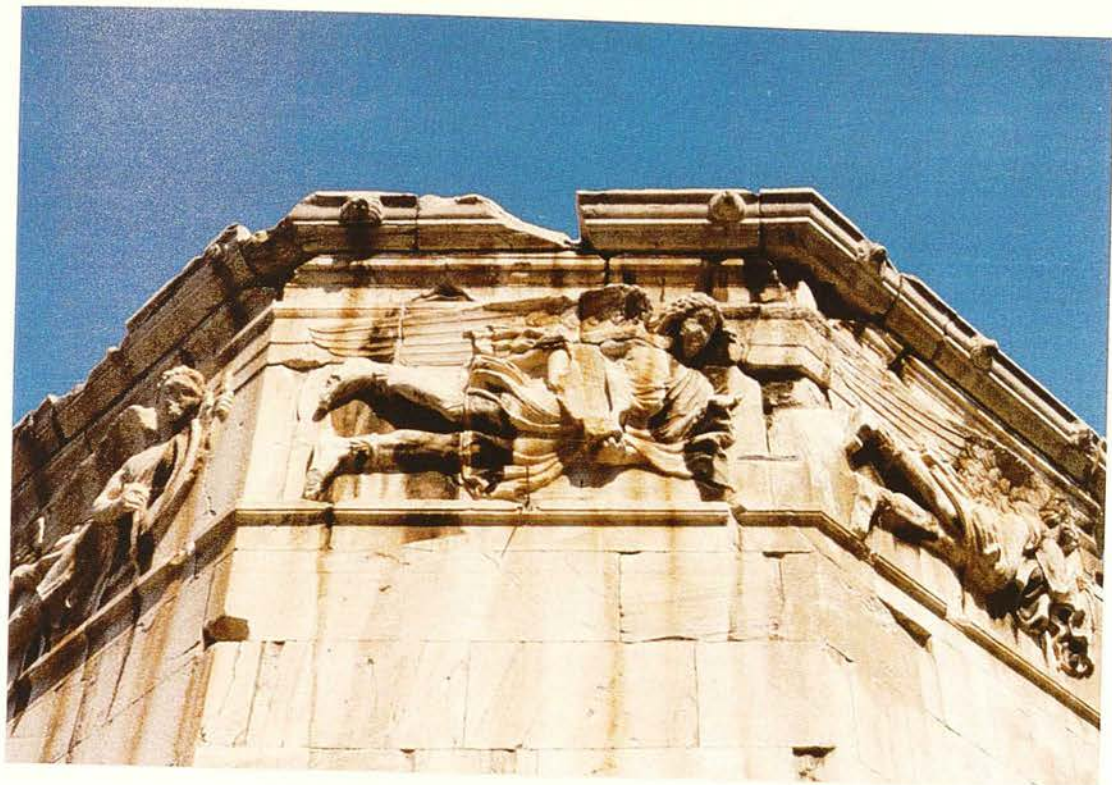
Fig.60. The Tower of the Winds (Horologion of Andronikos of Kyrrhus), c.50 B.C. (a) Boreas; (b) Kaikias; (c) Apeliotes; (d) Euros; (e) Notos; (f) Lips; (g) Zephyros; (h) Skiron.



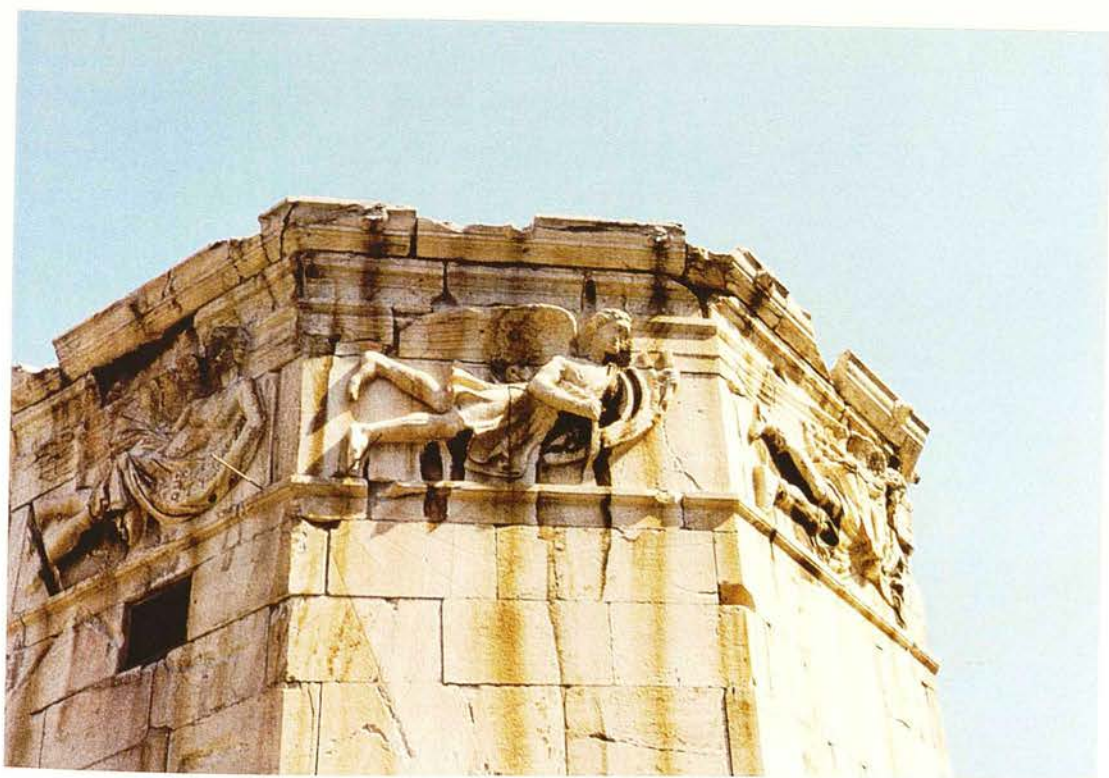
C.



D.



E.



F.



G.



H.



Fig.61. The miracle of the Rain-demon. Scene XVI from the east side of the column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome, 180-196 A.D.



Fig.62. The Etesian Winds on the Tazza Farnese. Sardonyx bowl, c.100 B.C.

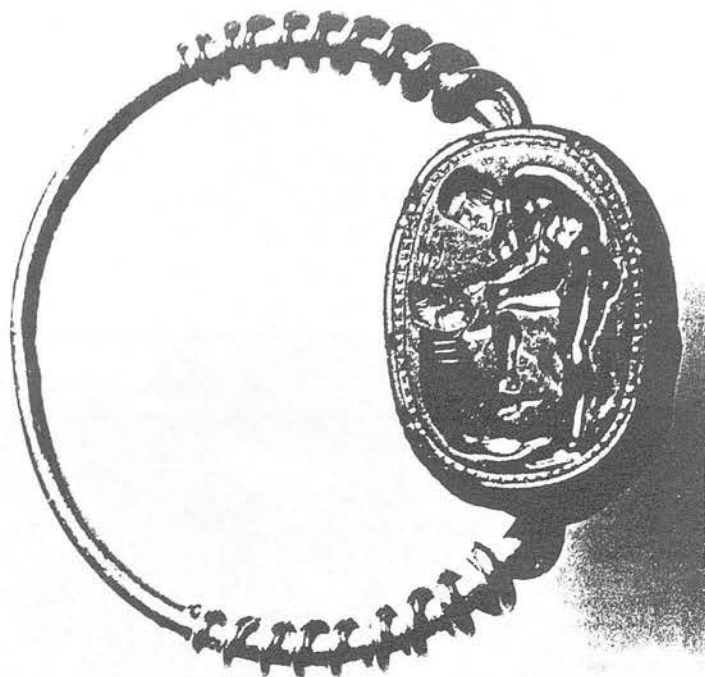


Fig.63. Odysseus opens the bag of Winds. Etruscan carnelian scarab set in a gold ring, 4th century B.C.

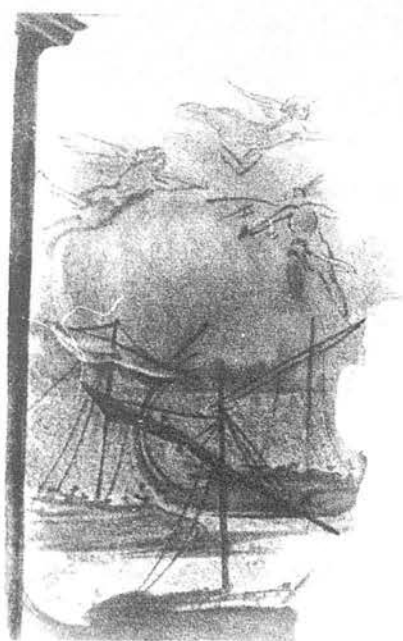


Fig.64. Three Wind-gods (Boreas, Euros and Notos) in the sky above Odysseus' ships. The Odyssey frieze from Rome, c.50-40 B.C.

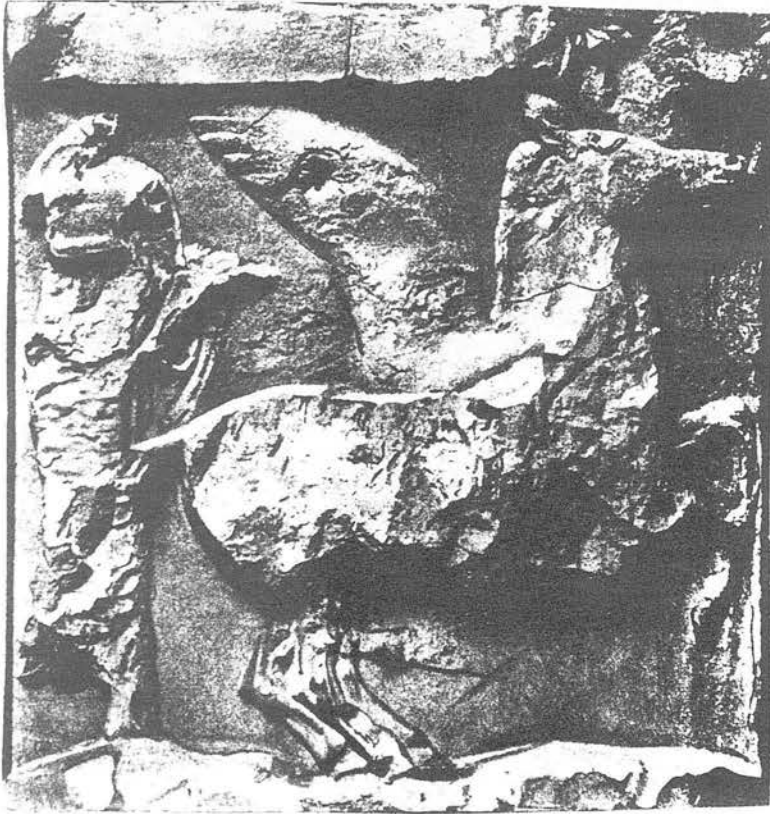


Fig.65. Hera in a chariot drawn by the four Winds in equine form.
Parthenon, east metope 7. c.447 B.C.



Fig.66. The Four Winds as horses. The east frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon, c.180 B.C.



Fig.70. A Wind blows upon Tutela's victory wreath, accompanied by Nike and Caelus. From Vienna, third century A.D.



Fig.71. Four Winds opposite four provinces: Zephyros-Africa, Boreas-Spain, Egypt-Notos, Sicily-Euros. Black and white mosaic from Ostia, Via del Vigili, c.50 A.D.

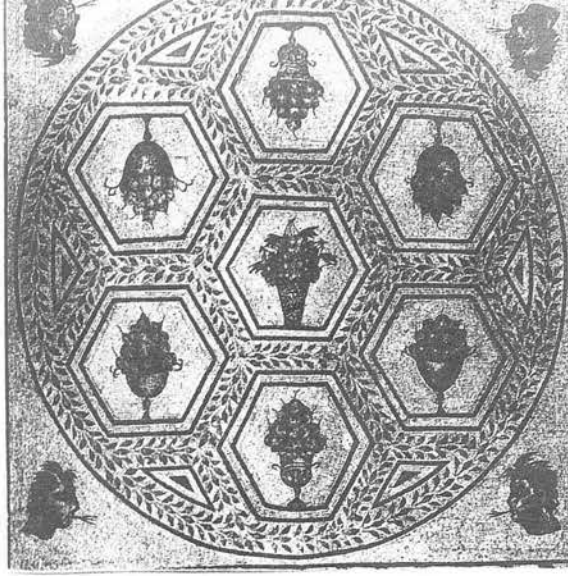


Fig.72. Four Winds in a floral mosaic, from St. Agatha (Petra Aurea) on the Via Nomentana, 133 A.D.



Fig.73. Four Winds, a swimmer and sea-gods. Mosaic from the Maison à Trifolium, Dougga, c.200 A.D.



Fig.74. Cosmological mosaic including the Winds, from the Casa del Miteo, Mérida, late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D.

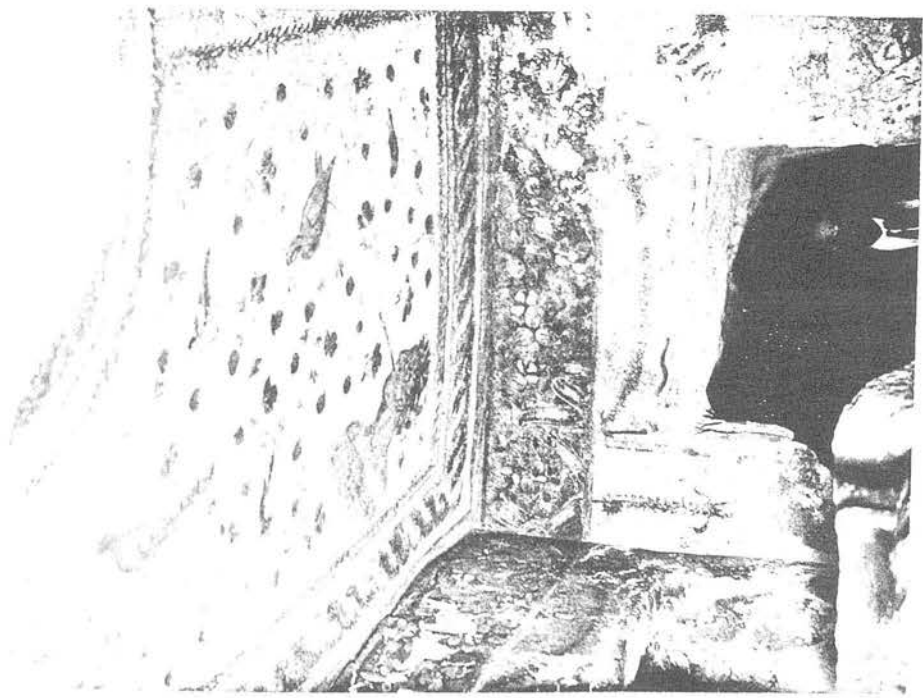


Fig.75. Two Wind-gods from the painted ceiling of an hypogeum, Djel el'Amad (near Tyre), 2nd-3rd century A.D.

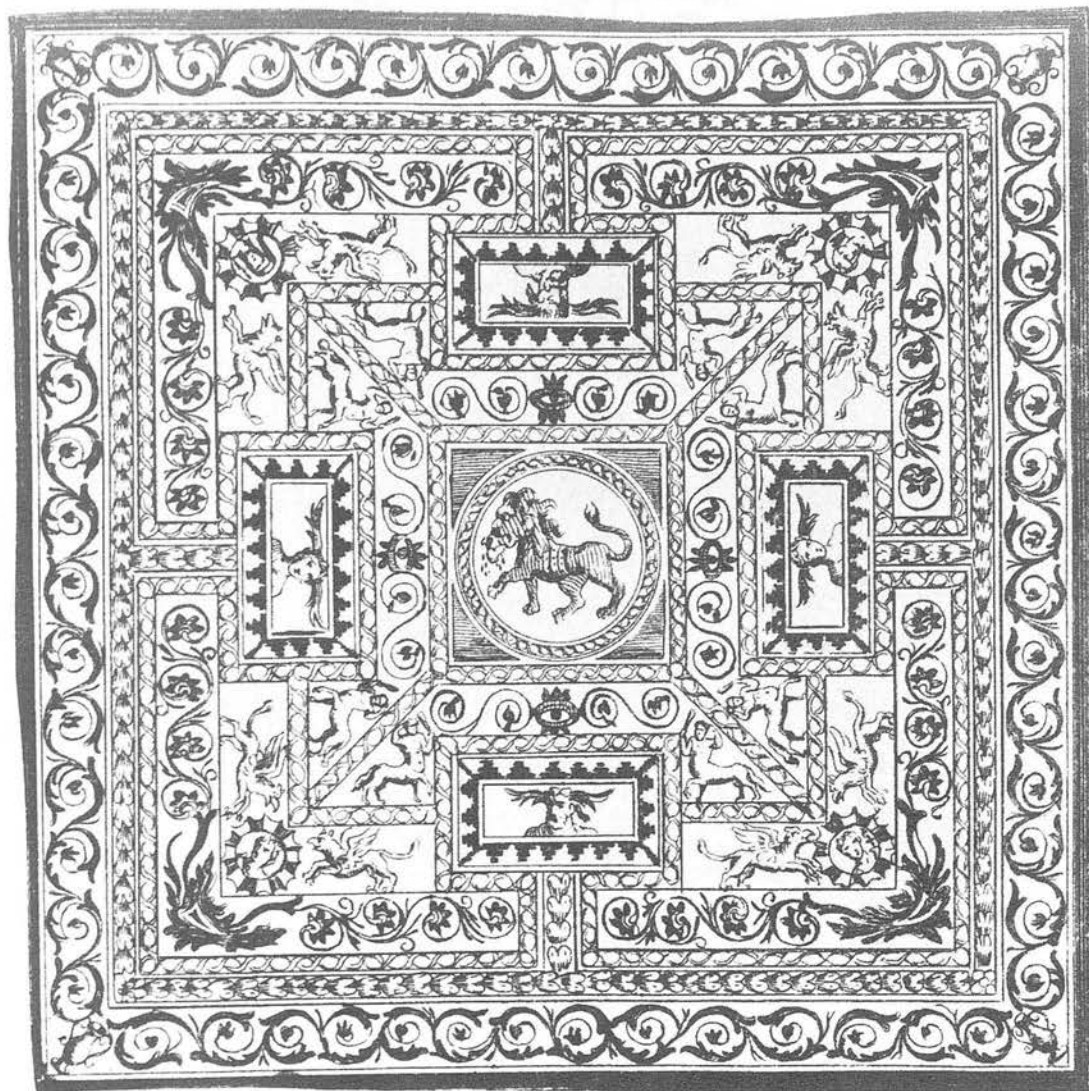


Fig.76. Four Winds with the four Seasons. Black and white mosaic from Tourmont, 4th century A.D.

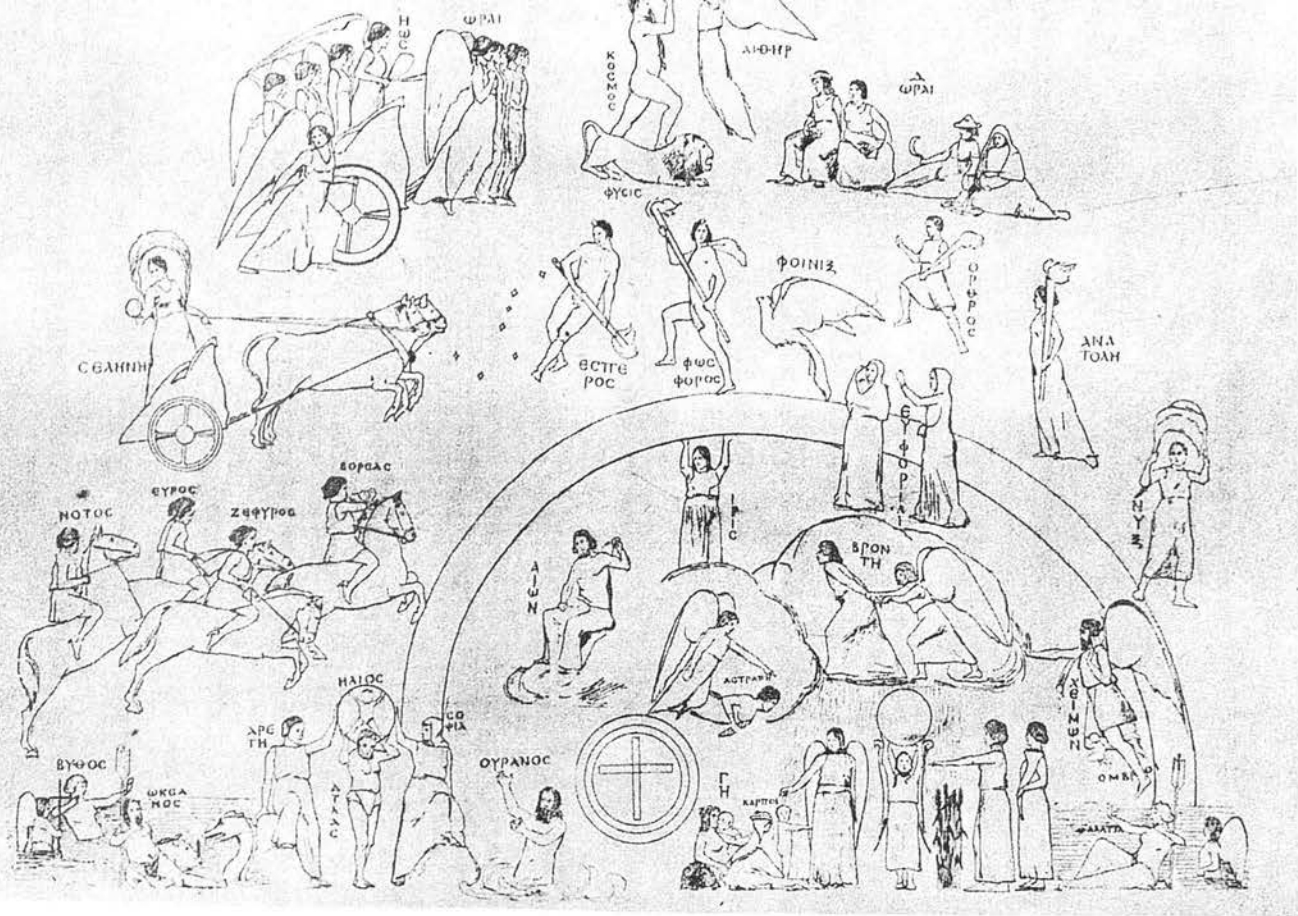


Fig.77. Four Winds as horsemen on a cosmographical wall-painting from Gaza, 4th-5th century A.D.

Fig.78. Serpent-tailed Wind-gods from Akhaian gold and wooden chariot-panels, 8th century B.C.

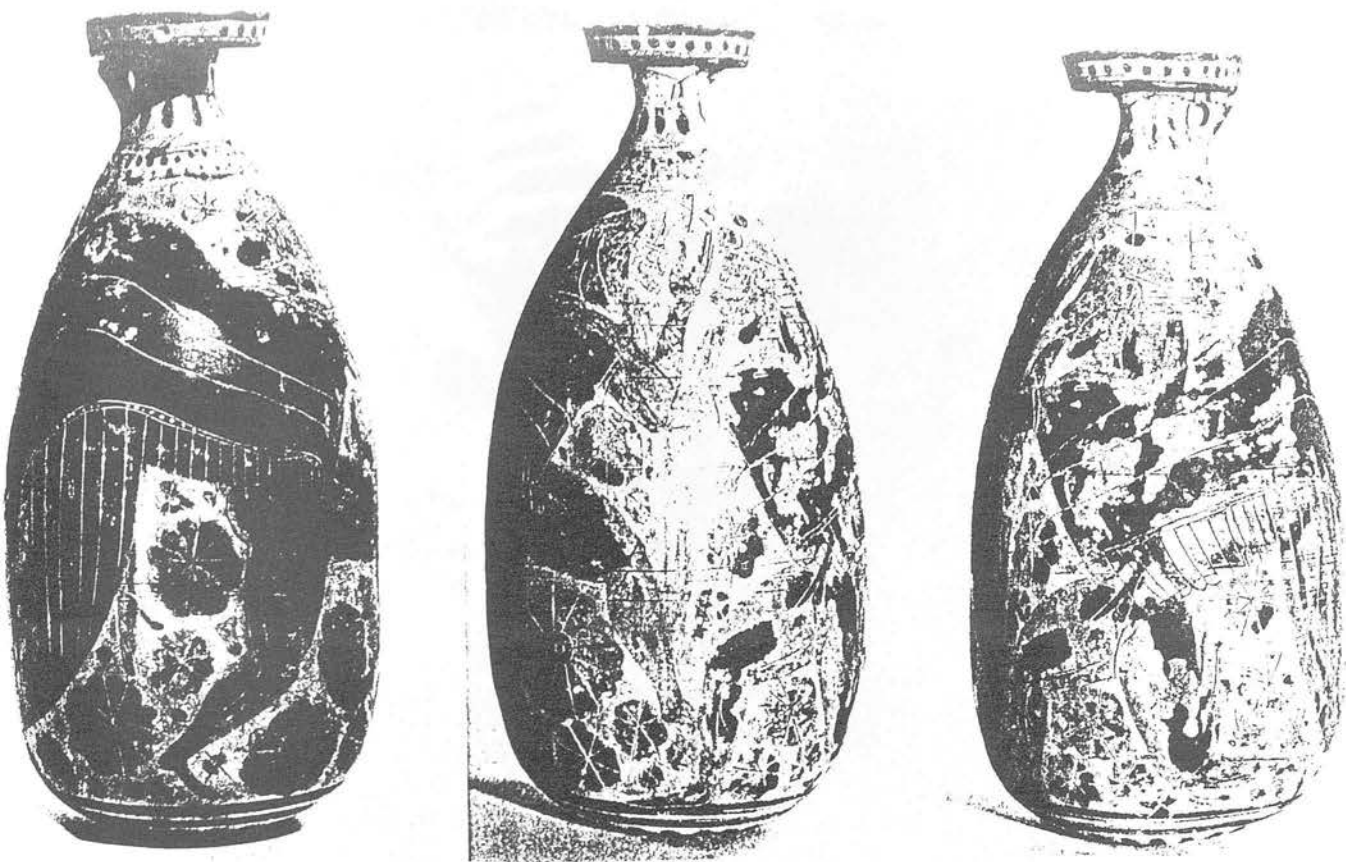


Fig.79. Two clashing Wind-gods making 'rain'. Middle Corinthian alabstron.



Fig.80. Zeus attacks Typhon, while a Wind-god comes to the rescue. Apulian oinochoe by the Arpi Painter, c.310-300 B.C.



Fig.81. Head of a Wind-god; notice the 'skull-cap'. From Göttingen, 100-300 A.D.



Fig.82. Aura seated upon a rock. Boeotian skyphos, c.450-440 B.C.



Fig.83. Aurai on an Attic astragalos by Sotades, c.480 B.C.



Fig.84. Eos and Kephalos. Attic kalyx-krater, c.430-420 B.C.



Fig.85. Eos and Kephalos. Boeotian skyphos, c.440-



Fig.86. Hypnos and Thanatos lift the body of Sarpedon, supervised by Hermes Psychopompos. Attic kalyx-krater by Euphronios and Euxitheos, c.510 B.C.



Fig.87. Bronze head of Hypnos. Roman copy of an Hellenistic original.



Fig.88. Eros pursues a youth across an altar, armed with a whip. Attic amphora, c.470 B.C.

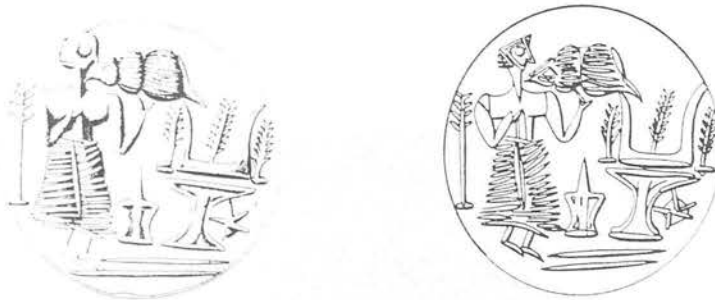


Fig.89. The Priestess of the Winds blowing a conch-shell. Late Minoan rock-crystal engraved gemstone from a cave on Mt. Ida.



Fig.90. A Wind-god blows a conch-shell beneath the *rostrum* of a ship. The Ara Ventorum, Rome.



Fig.91. Youthful Wind-god from a double-sided altar at Nîmes, 2nd century A.D.

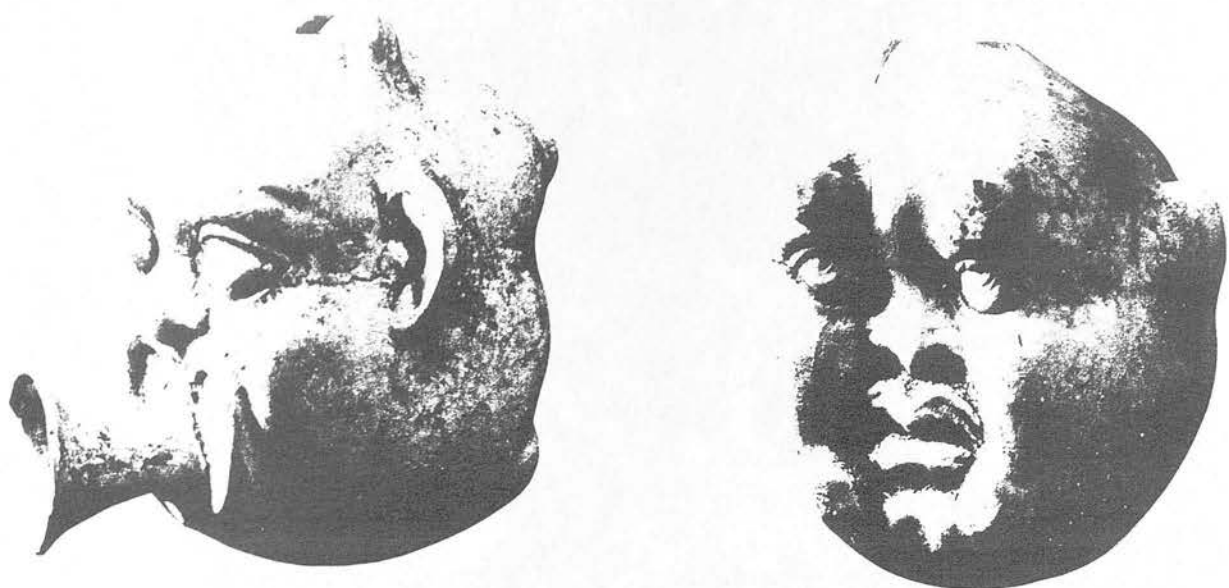


Fig.92. White terracotta *oscilla* in the form of Wind-gods, from Soings.
1st century A.D.



Fig.93. Bronze mask (*oscillum?*) of a Wind-god, from Mariemont.
2nd-3rd century A.D.

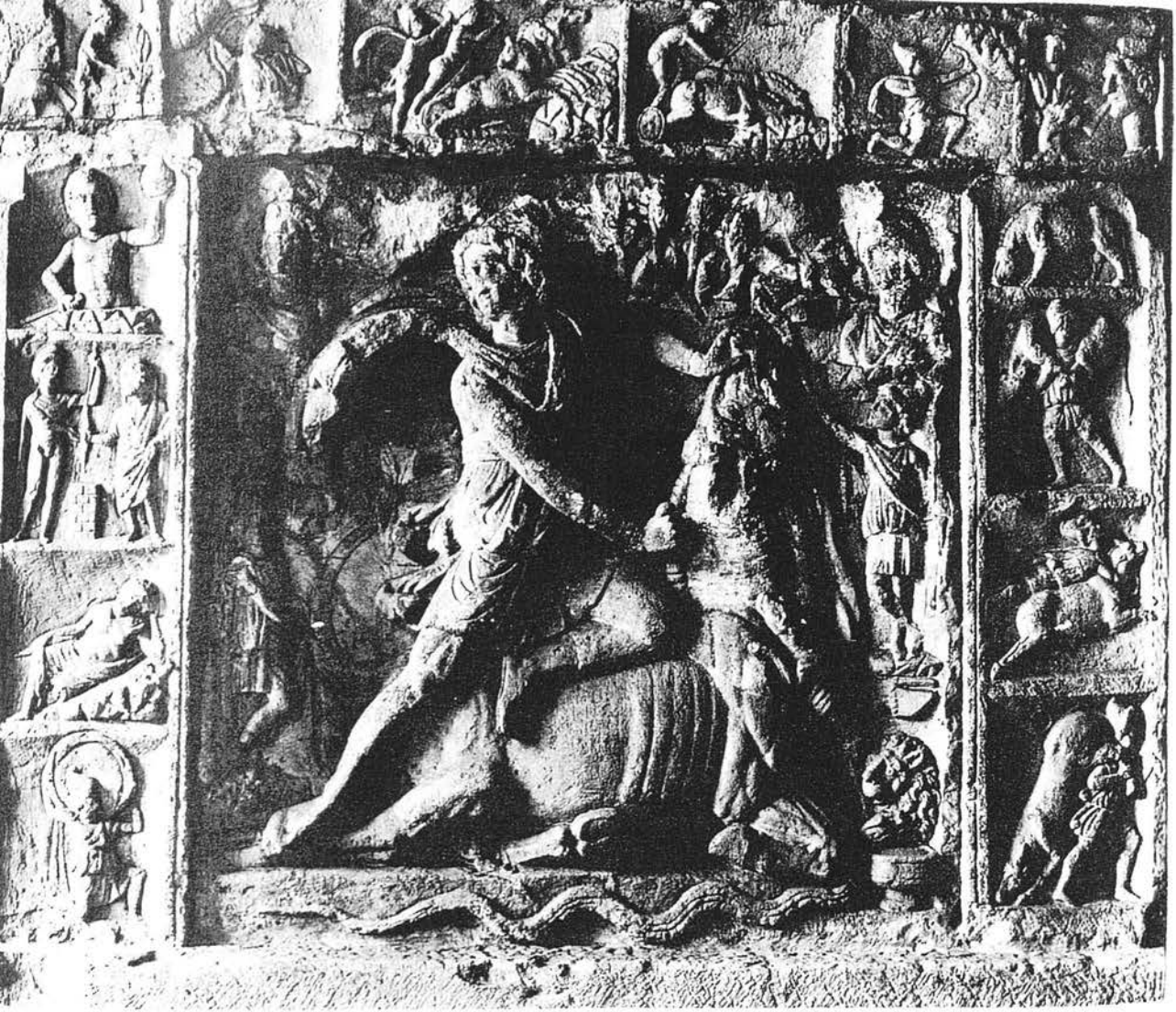


Fig.94. Mithraic tauroctony with two Wind-gods: Notos (apogenesis) at top left, Boreas (genesis) at top right. From Neuenheim, 2nd century A.D.



Fig.95. Mithraic tauroctony with two Wind-gods: Boreas (genesis) at top left, Notos (apogenesis) at top right. From Osterburken, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.96. Mithraic tauroctony with two Wind-gods: Boreas (bottom left) and Zephyros (bottom right). From London, 150-500 A.D.



Fig.97. Relief of Mithras *kosmokrater*, with the four Winds assisting. From Augusta Treverum, 3rd-4th century A.D.

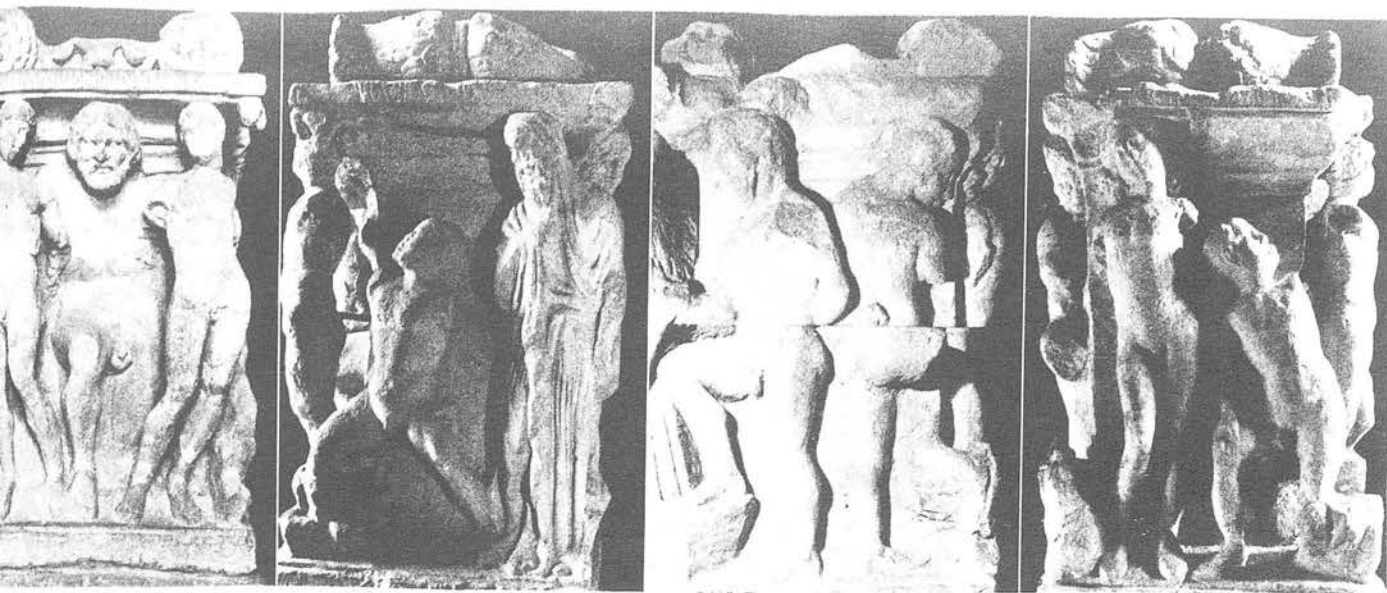


Fig.98. The Winds and Seasons aid Caelus on the Great Altar of Carnuntum, 2nd-3rd century A.D.



Fig.99. Winds/Seasons on a Mithraic tauroctony from Brigetio. Bronze plate, 3rd century A.D.

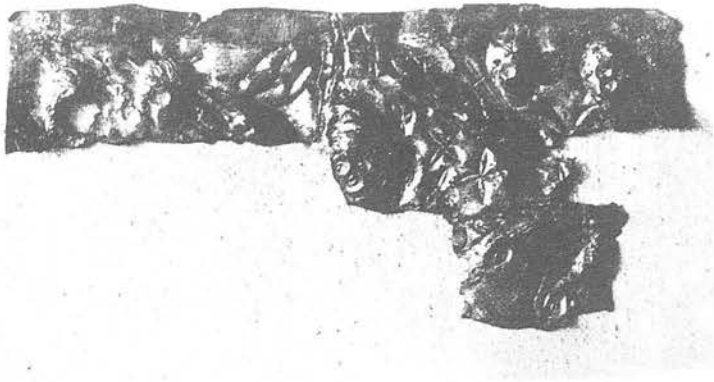


Fig.100. Wind-god on a silver-bronze plate from Stockstadt, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.101. Bronze head of a Wind-god from Angleur, 2nd-3rd century A.D.



Fig.102. Phaethon and Helios, surrounded by Winds, from a double-sided Mithraic relief in Dieburg, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.103. Mithraic tauroctony with the four Winds on a double-sided altar from Heddernheim, 3rd century A.D.

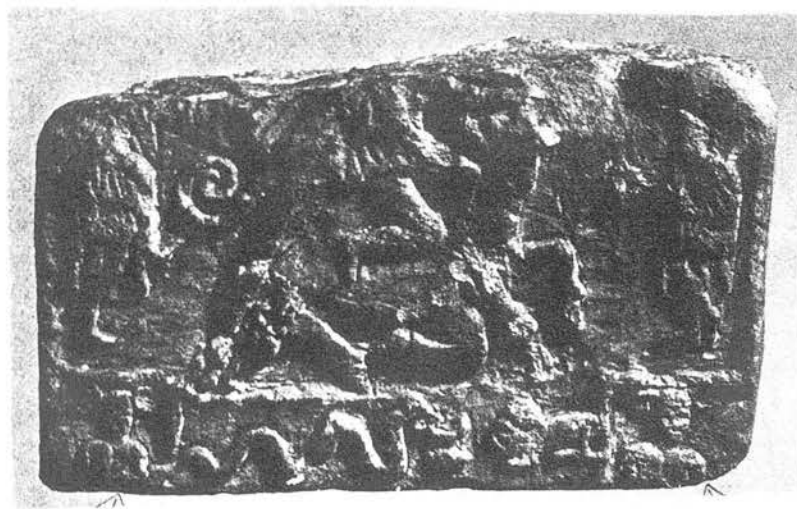


Fig.104. Wind-god from a Mithraic tauroctony in Augusta Rauricorum, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.105. Wind-god from a Mithraic tauroctony in Mayence, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.106. Mithraic Time-god from Rome, 2nd-3rd century A.D.



Fig.107. Orphic/Mithraic relief with the four Winds, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.108. Four Winds on a Aionist mosaic from Philipopolis-Chaba: Aion holds the wheel of Time at bottom right, accompanied by Psyche and Prometheus making a mannikin; Hermes, Georgia, the Troonai Demeter

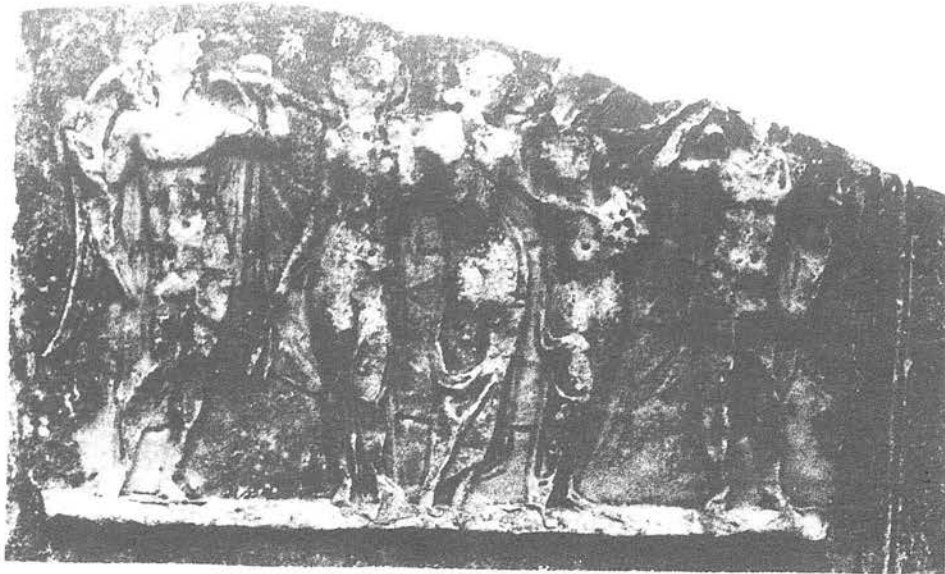


Fig.109. Zephyros and another Wind-god accompany the Three Graces. Marble grave stele from Kyzikos, c.117-138 A.D.

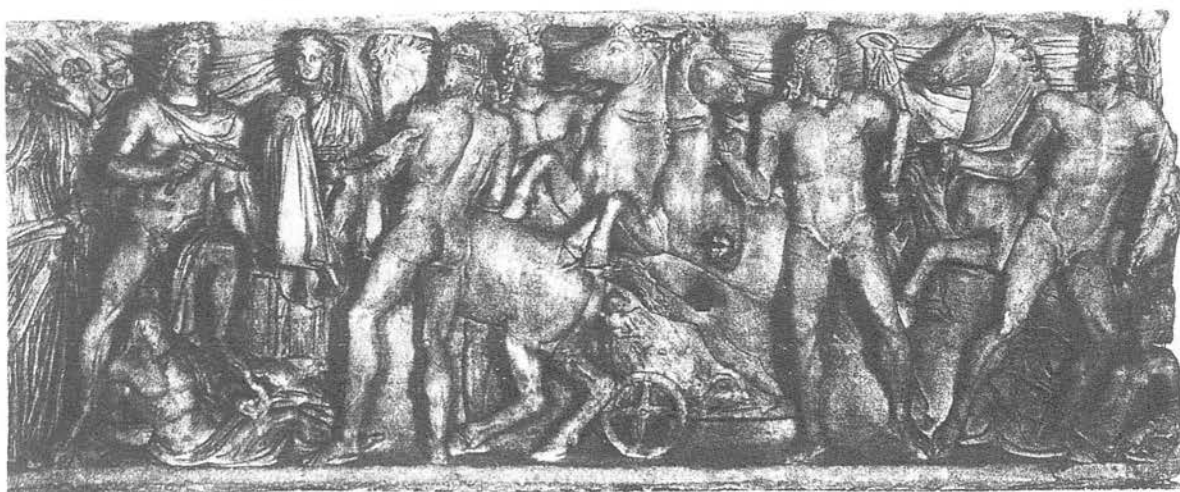


Fig.110. The four Winds as horses. The Phaethon sarcophagus, c.190-200 A.D.



Fig.111. A Wind-god blowing a conch-shell on the Phaethon sarcophagus from Ostia, 2nd-3rd century A.D.

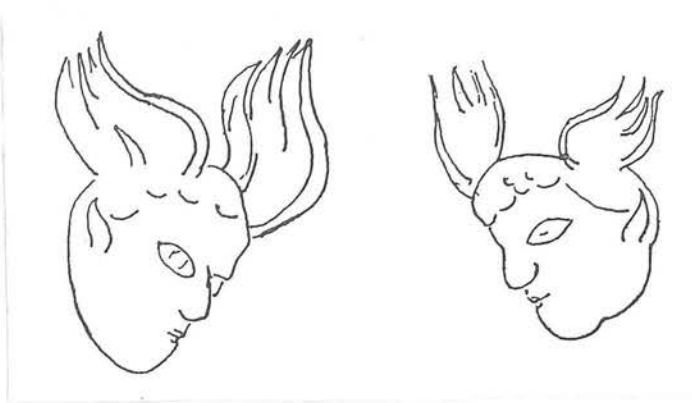


Fig.112. Sketch of painted Wind-god heads from a child's sarcophagus lid, Latran. 3rd century A.D.

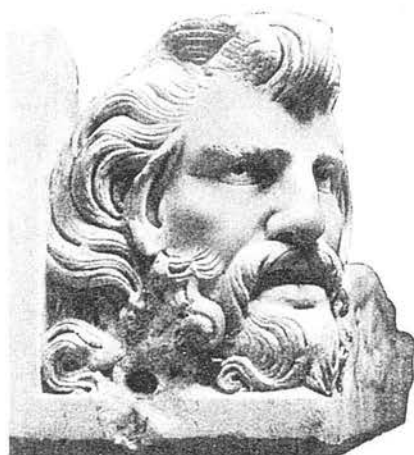


Fig.113. Wind-god akroteria from the Leukippides sarcophagus, 2nd-3rd century A.D.



Fig.114. Wind-god akroterion from a sarcophagus, 3rd century A.D.



Fig.115. Serpent-tailed Wind-god from an Etruscan-type coffin, 3rd century A.D.

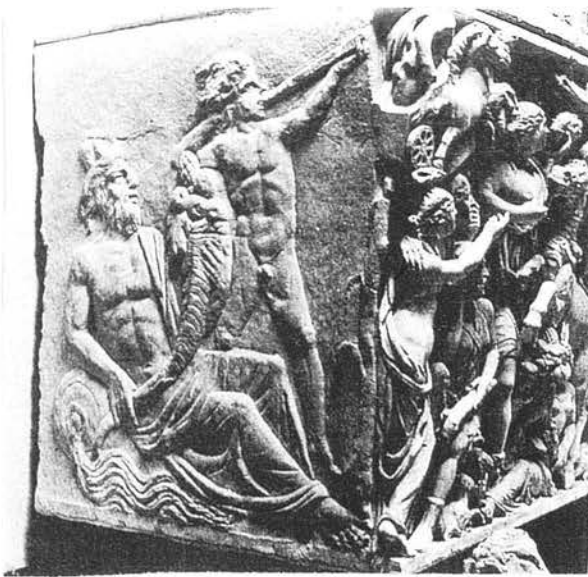


Fig.116. Wind-god blowing a conch-shell, accompanied by Okeanos holding a cornucopia. On the Endymion sarcophagus, Rome. 3rd century A.D.



Fig.117. Wind-gods on a grave stele from Carnuntum, c.71 A.D.



Fig.118. Wind-gods on a grave stele from Walbersdorf



Fig.119. Wind-gods on a grave stele from Aquincum,
2nd-3rd century A.D.



Fig.121. Wind-gods on a sarcophagus showing Jonah and the Whale, 5th century A.D.

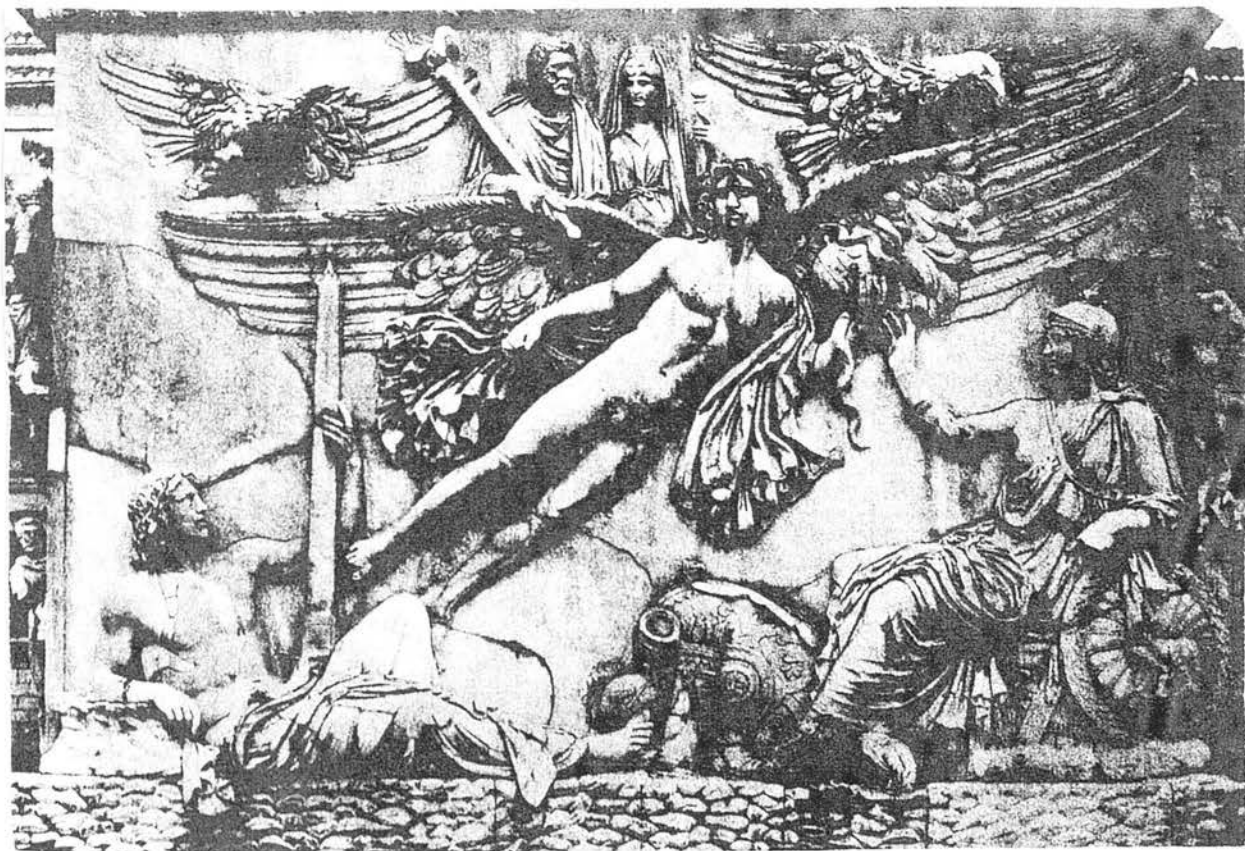


Fig.122. Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina on the base of the Antonine column, Rome, c.161 A.D.

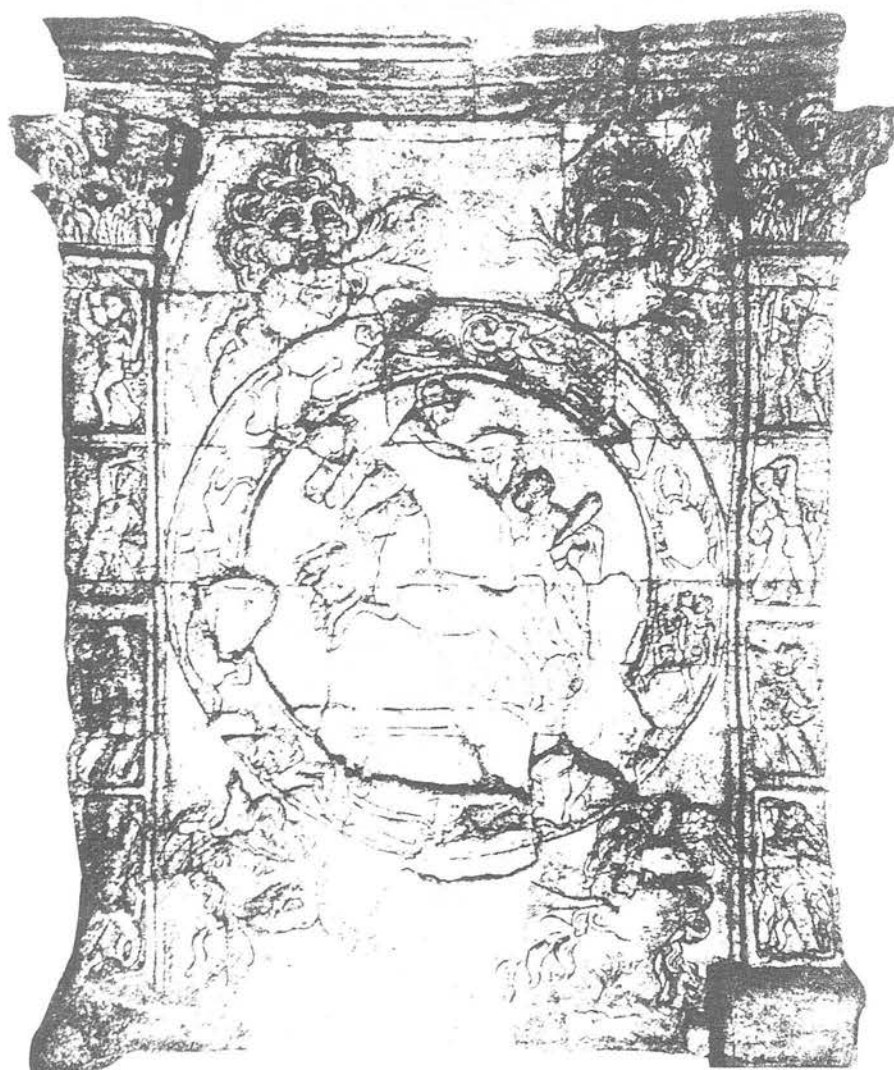


Fig.123. Wind-gods at the apotheosis of Herakles, on a grave stele from Igel, mid 3rd century A.D.



Fig.125. Path of the River Ilissos, Athens, in March 1999.

January	2 : South wind.
	4 : South wind.
	15 : South-west wind and rain.
	18 : Dolphin sets ; change of weather.
	20 : Rain.
	22 : Storms. Unlucky day.
	23 : South-west wind.
February	24 : Great storm.
	6 : West wind begins. 43 days until the solstice.
	8 : West wind
March	24 : Halkyon Days begin.
	7 : Cold winds (Ornithiai) for nine days, bringing migrant birds.
	17 : Pisces sets.
	18 : Cold winds. Change of weather.
April	27 : Change of weather.
	24 : Change of weather.
May	28 : Rain.
June	3 : Rain.
	16 : Orion rises.
	22 : Good day.
	28 : West wind. Rain in the morning, then a strong northerly wind for a week.
July	16 : Rain and squalls.
	29 : South wind. Heat.
August	19 : Change of weather. Rain and wind.
Sept.	2 : Change of weather. Rain.
	14 : Swallows leave. Change of weather.
	26 : Rain and wind.
October	5 : Sowing time. Stormy weather.
	6 : Rising of the Kids. North wind blows.
	26 : Pleiads set at dawn. Wintry winds, cold and frost. Leaves fall from trees.
	29 : Cold and frost.
November	4 : Lyra rises at dawn. Winter weather.
	13 : Storm on land and sea.
	25 : Sun in Sagittarius.
	27 : Disturbed sky and sea.
December	5 : Storm
	8 : Aetos rises. Thunder and lightning, rain and wind.
	10 : Thunder, lightning, wind and rain.
	27 : Very stormy.
	29 : Change of weather.

Fig.126. Meteorological calendar of Demokritos.

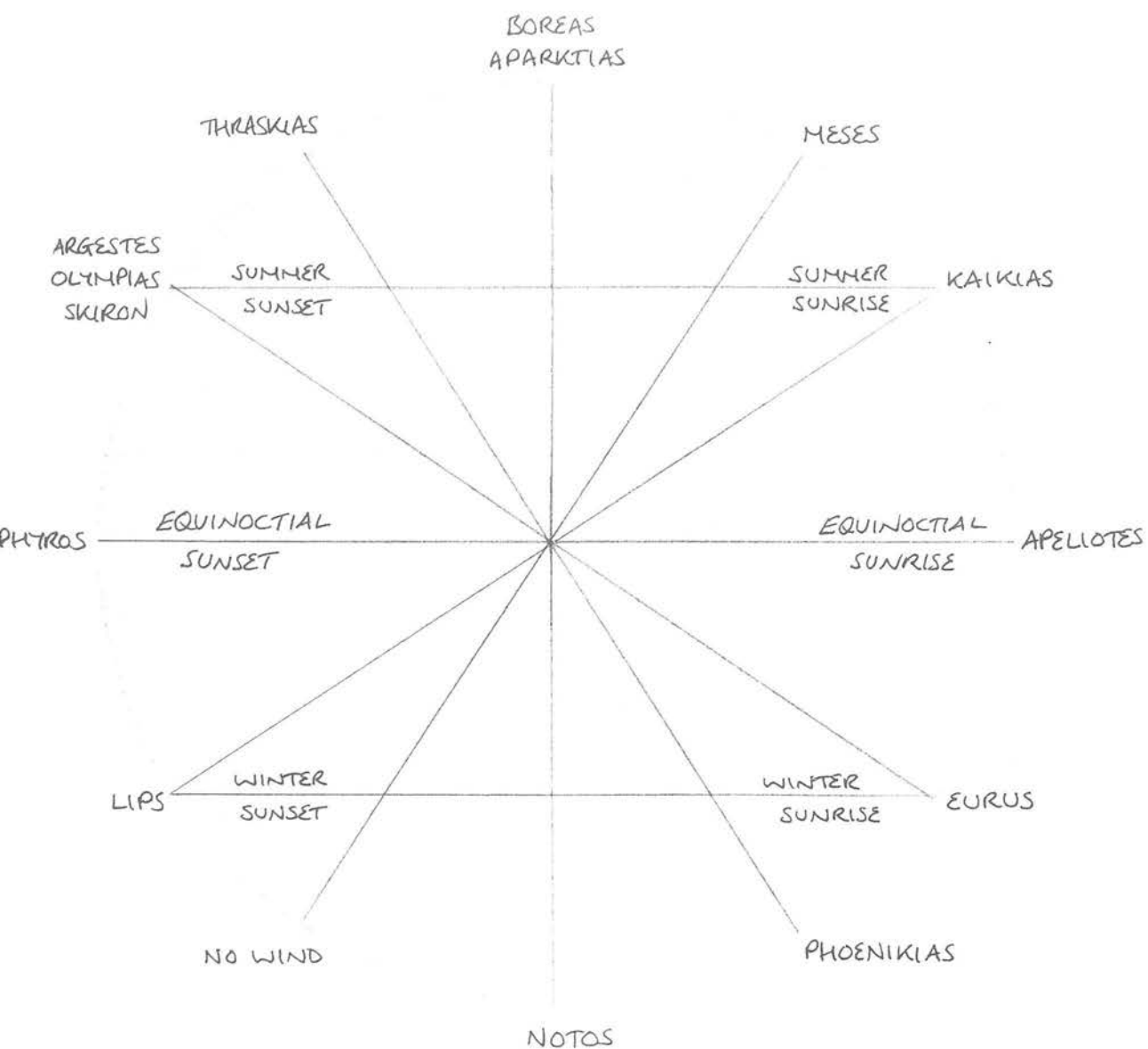


Fig.127. Aristotle's wind-rose.

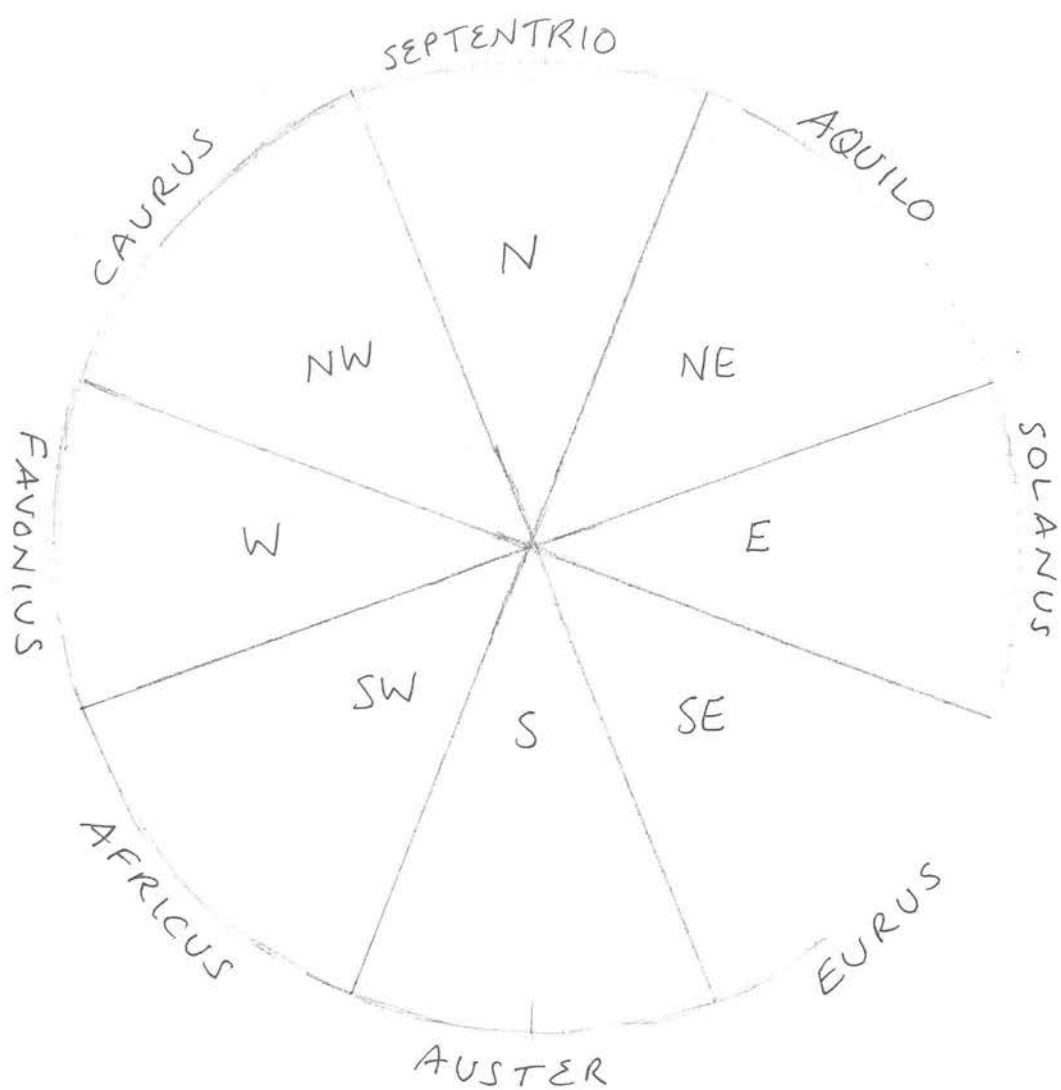


Fig.128. Vitruvius' wind-rose.

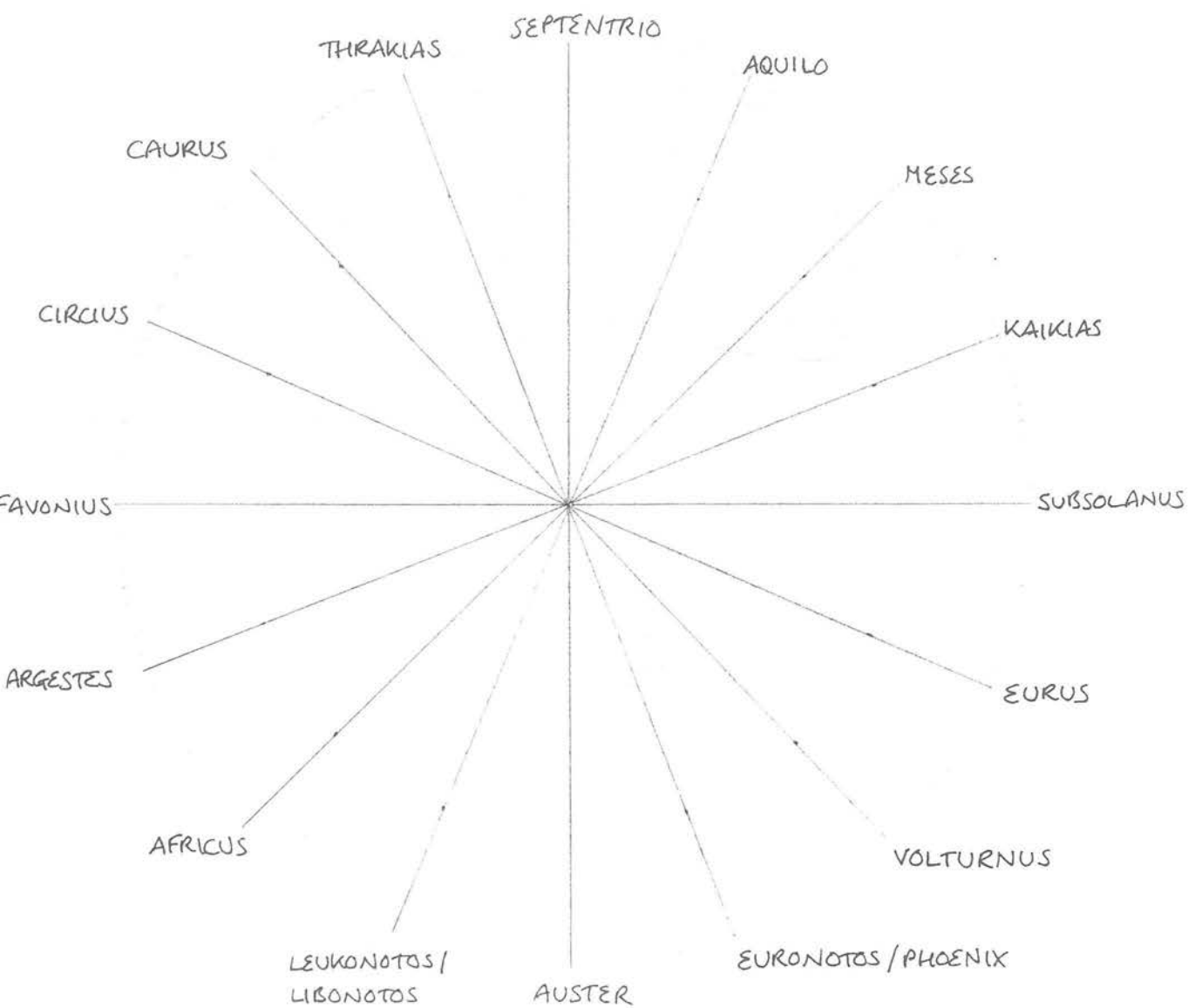
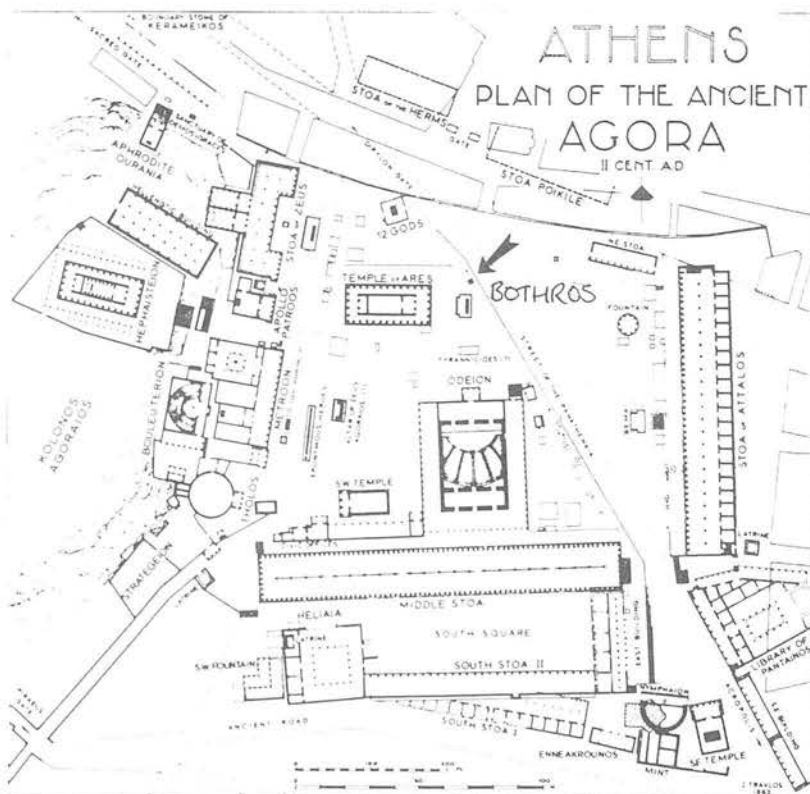


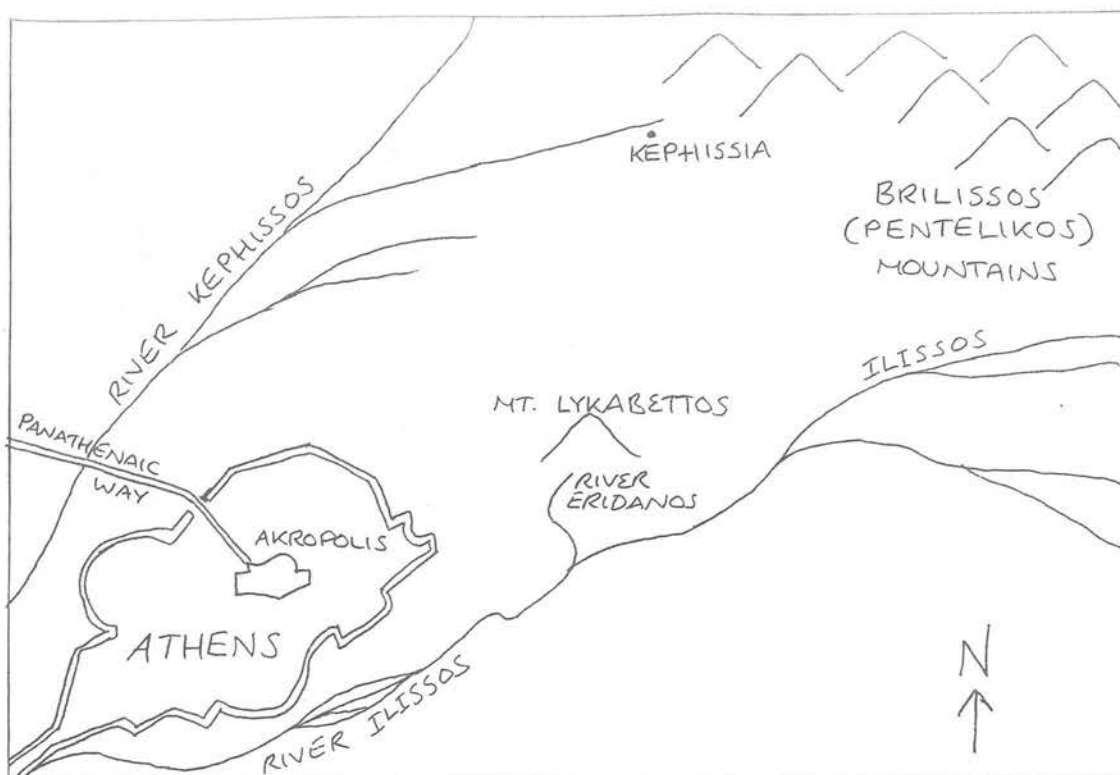
Fig.129. Roman wind-rose.



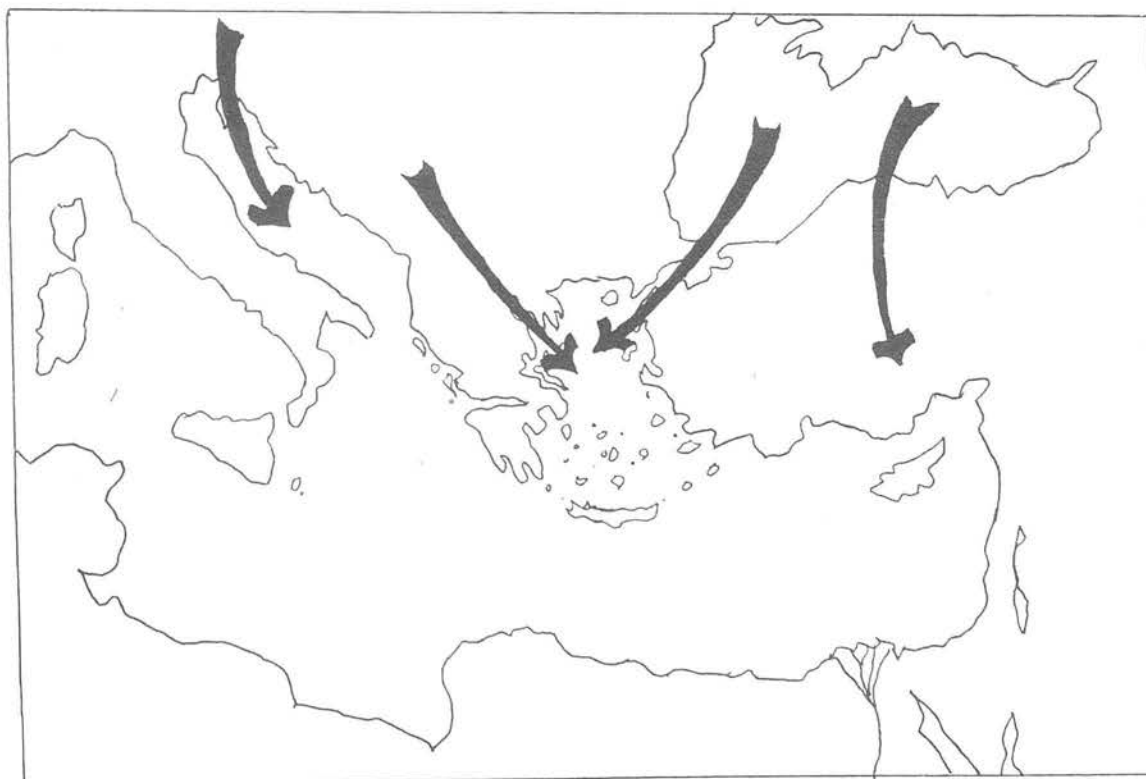
Map 1: Cape Sepias and Artemision.



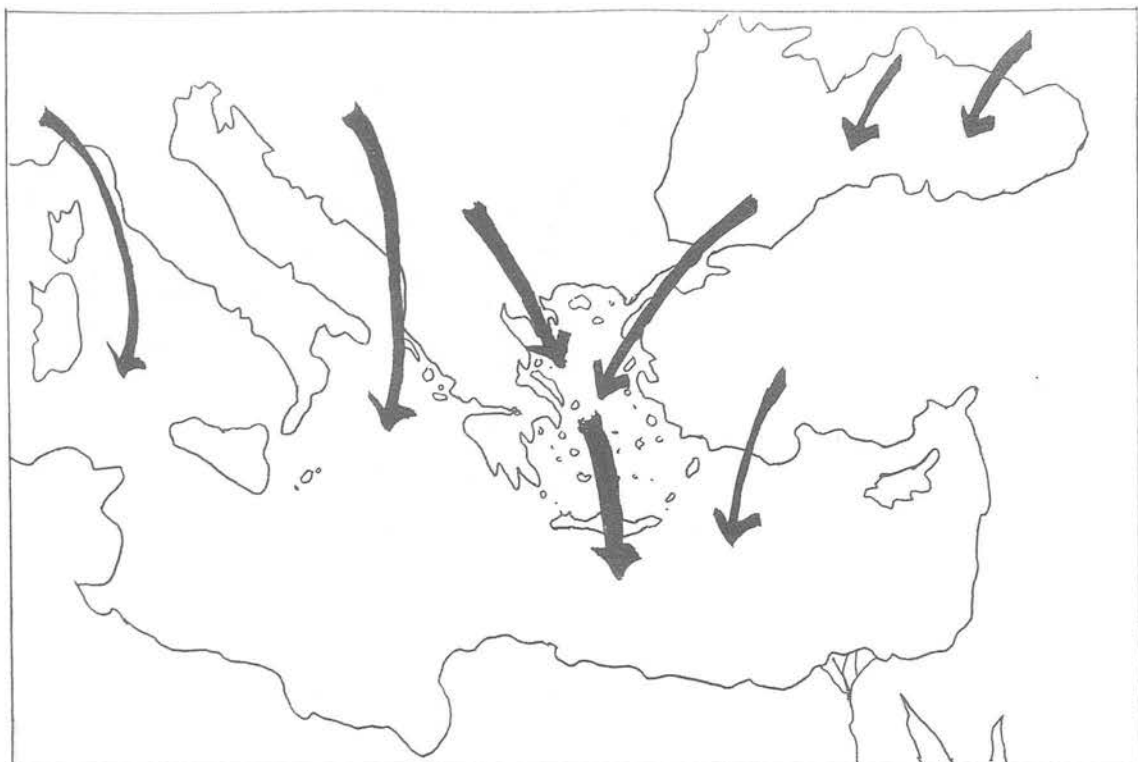
Map 2: Bothros in the Athenian agora.



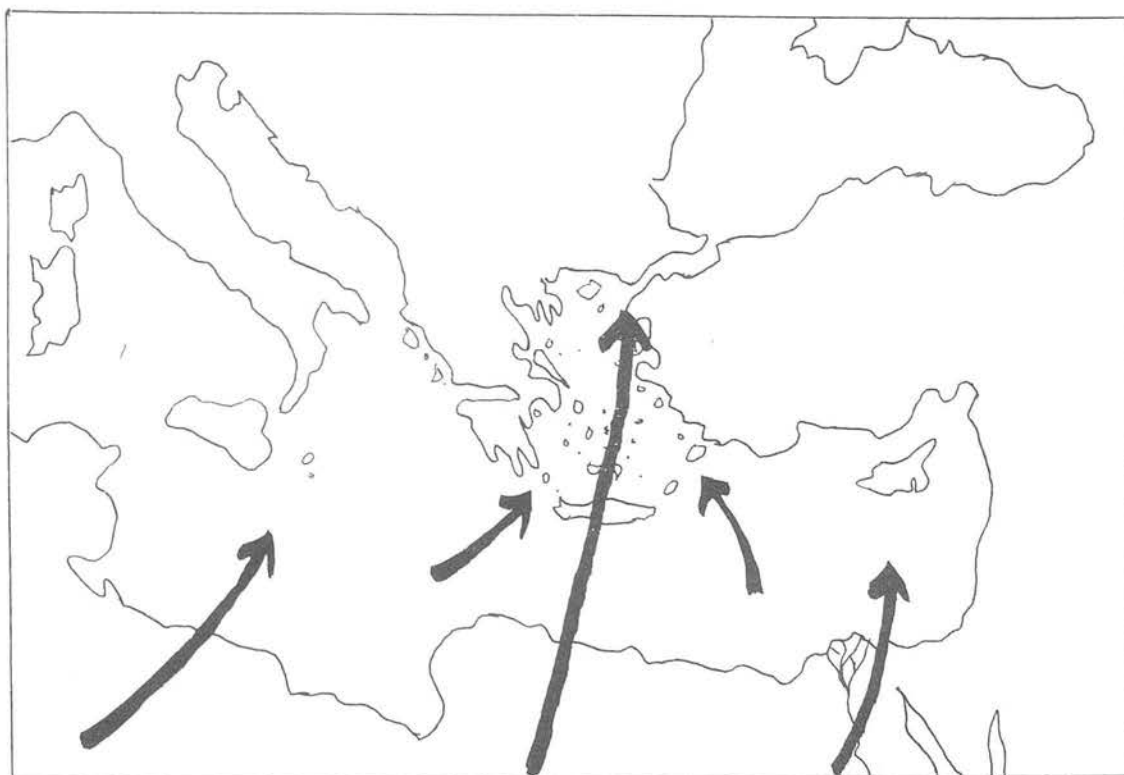
Map 3: Mount Brilessos and Athens.



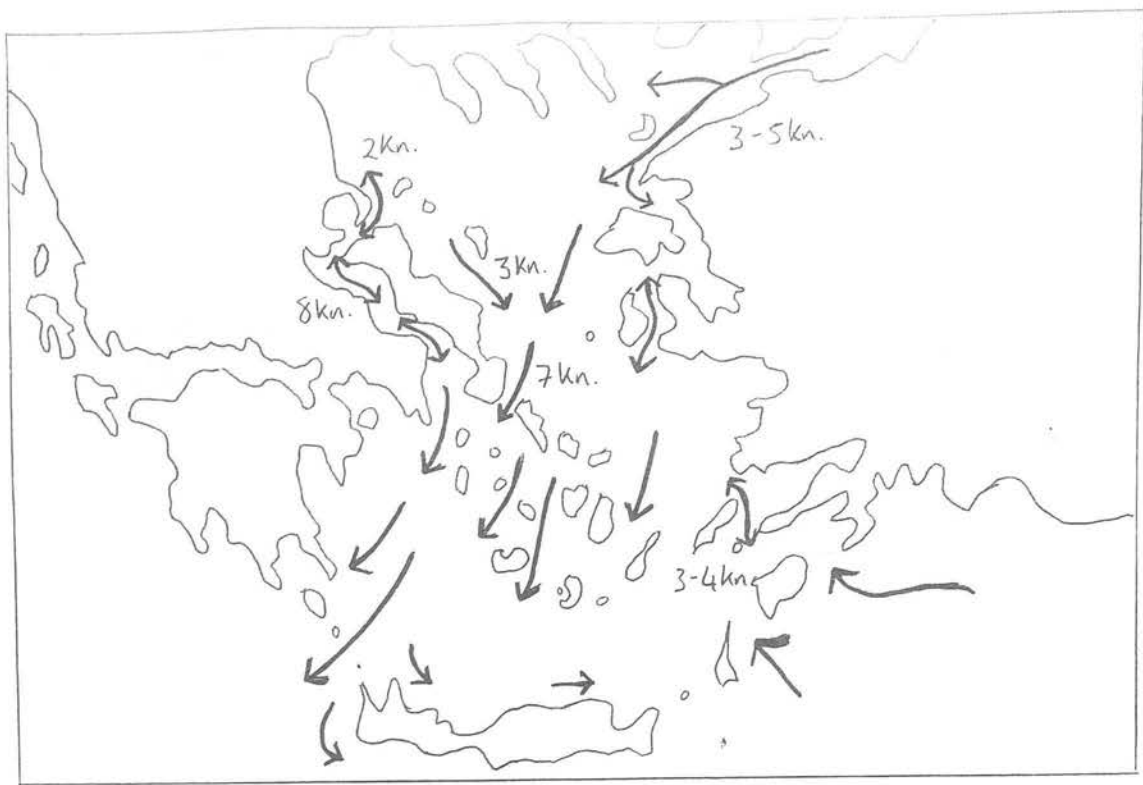
Map 4: Tracks of the Aegean bora.



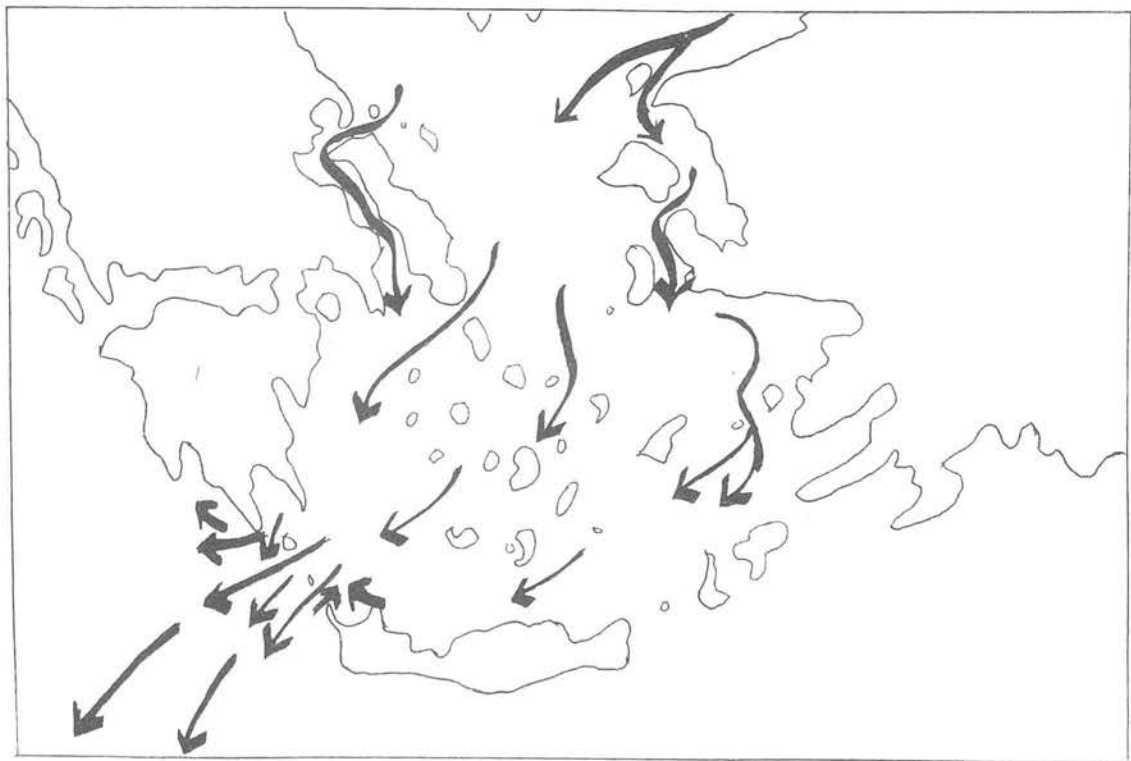
Map 5: Tracks of the Aegean meltemi.



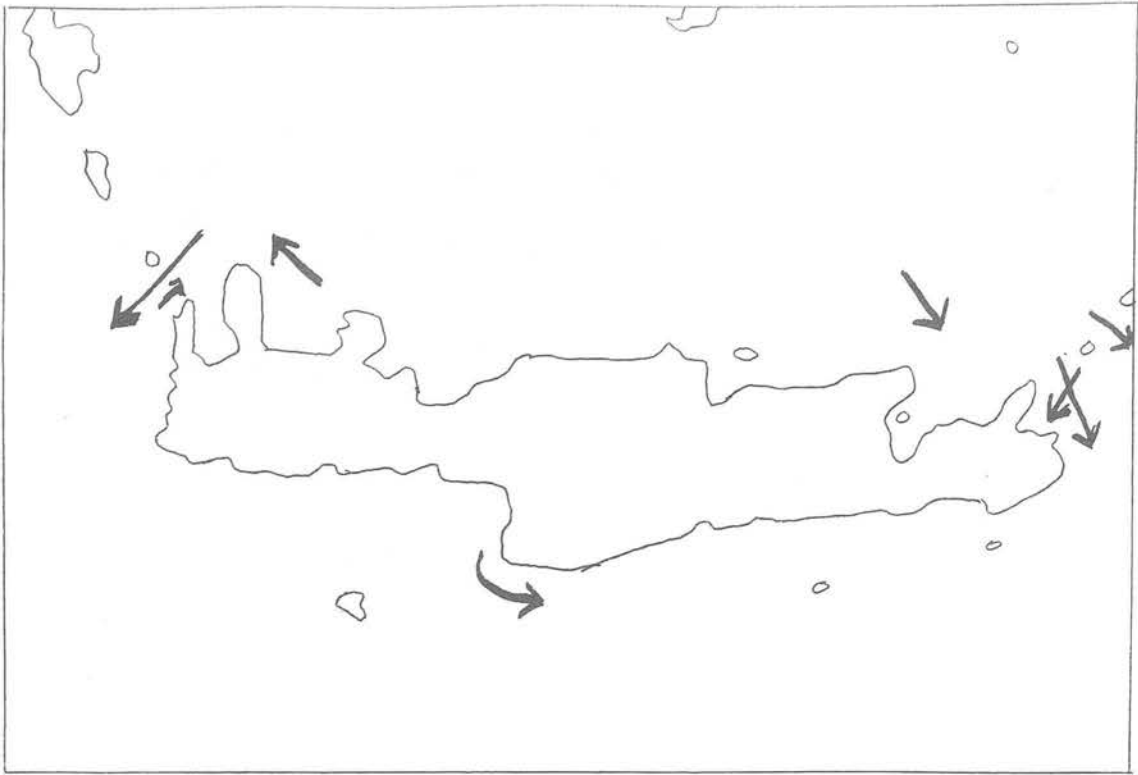
Map 6: Tracks of the sirocco.



Map 7: Current speed and direction in relation to the winds.



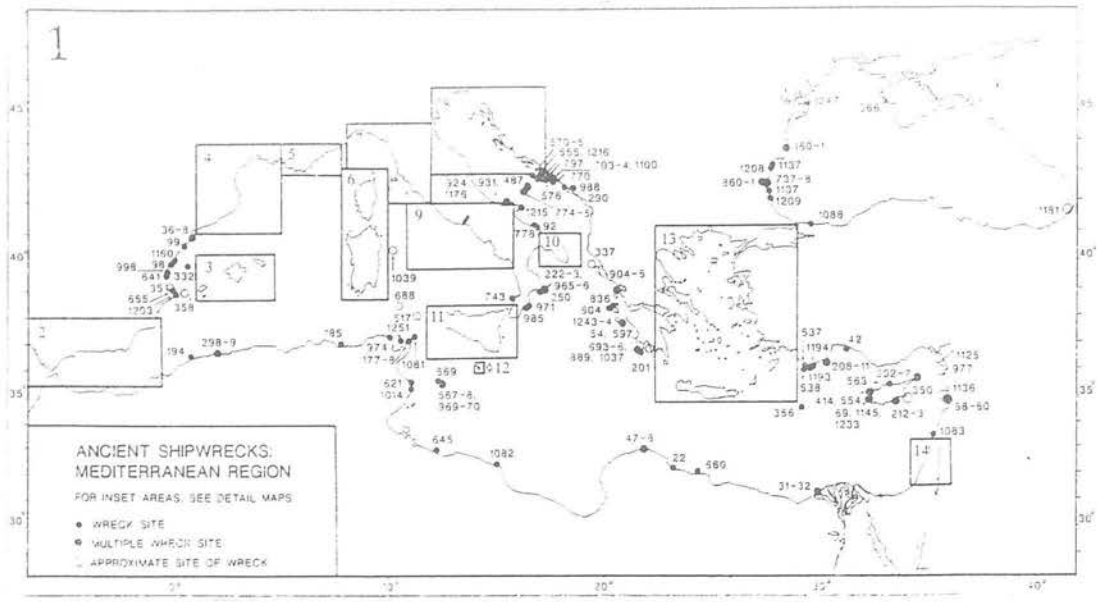
Map 8: Trends of the Marmara Mass.



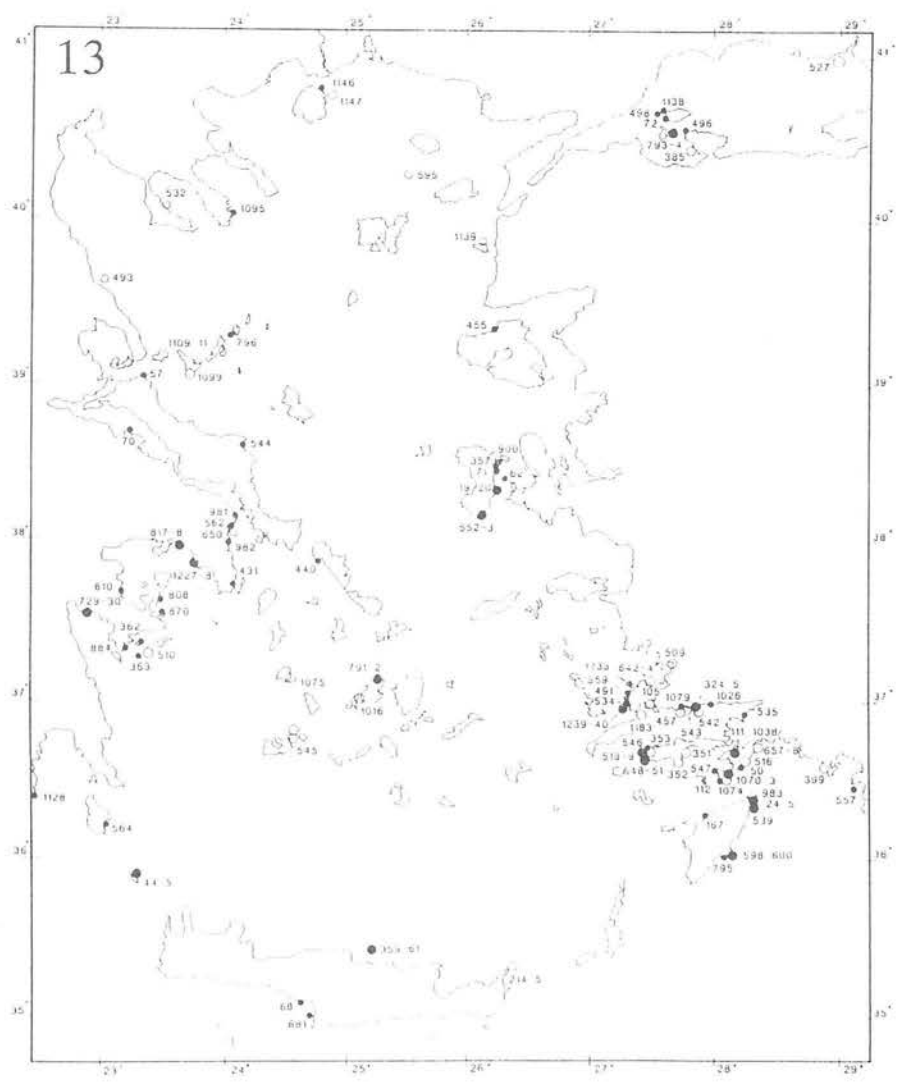
Map 9: Trends of the Cretan current.



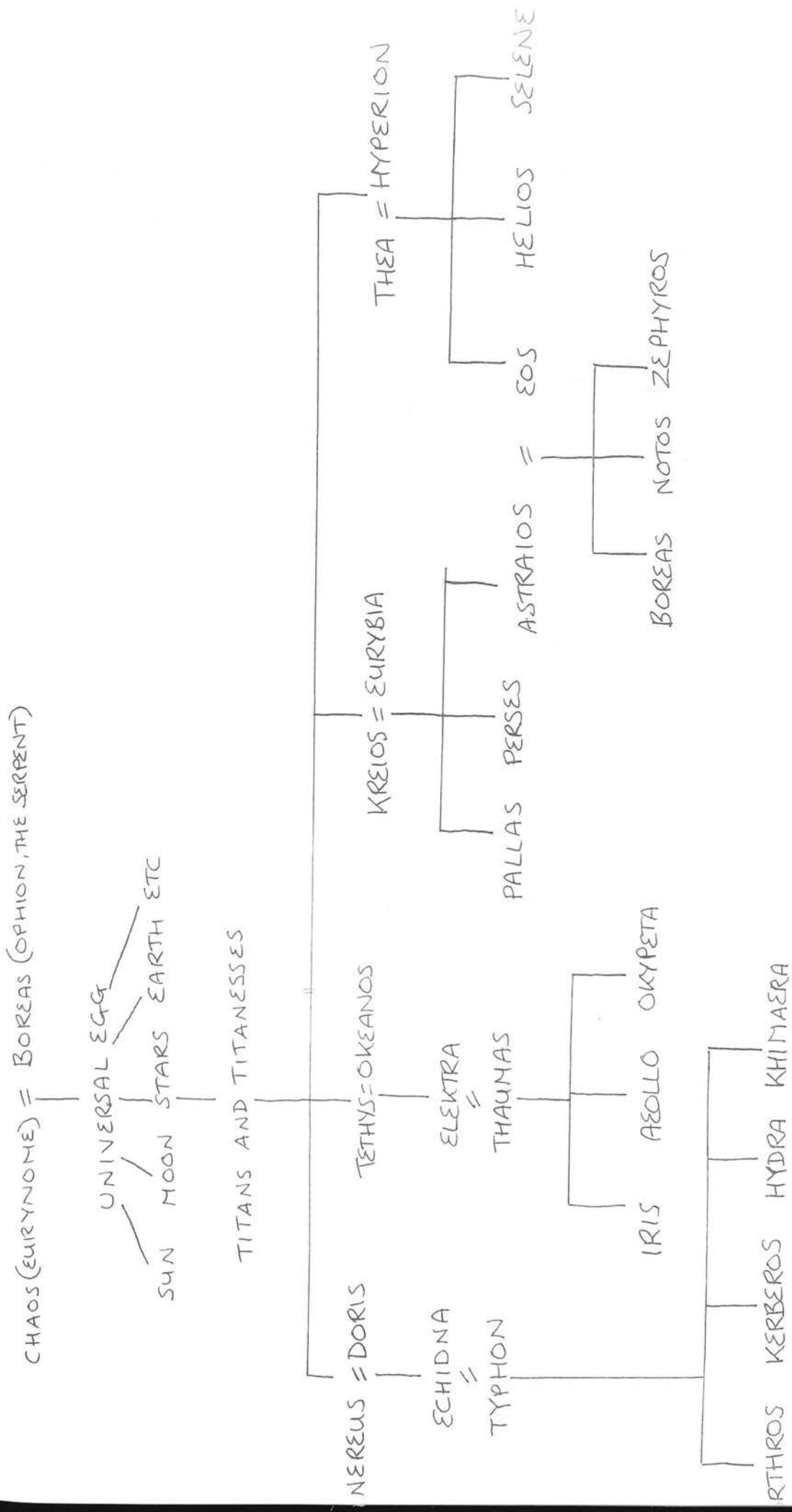
Map 10: Trends of the Levantine/Turkish exchange.



Map 11: Shipwreck sites in the Mediterranean.

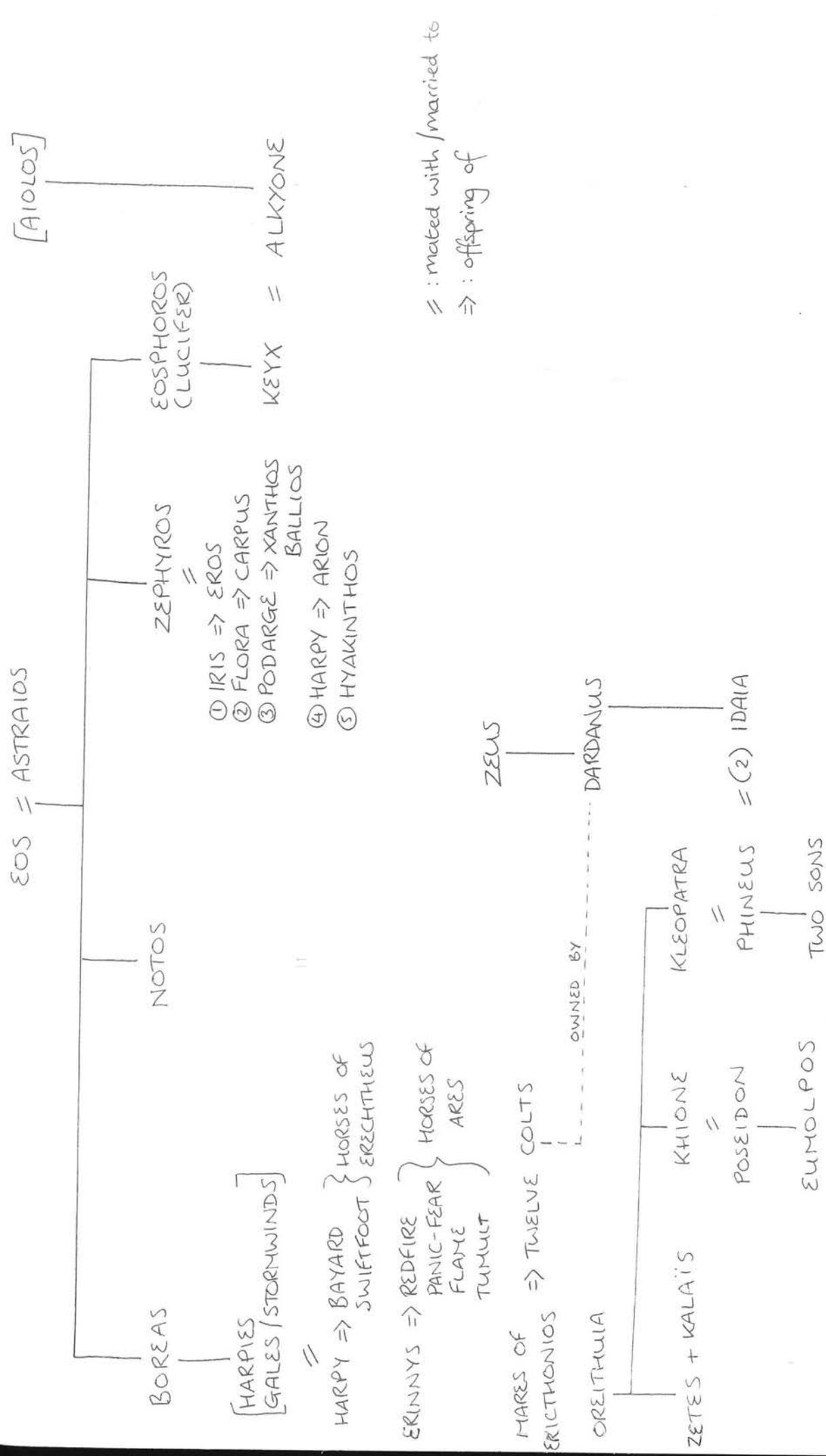


Map 12: Shipwreck sites in the Aegean.

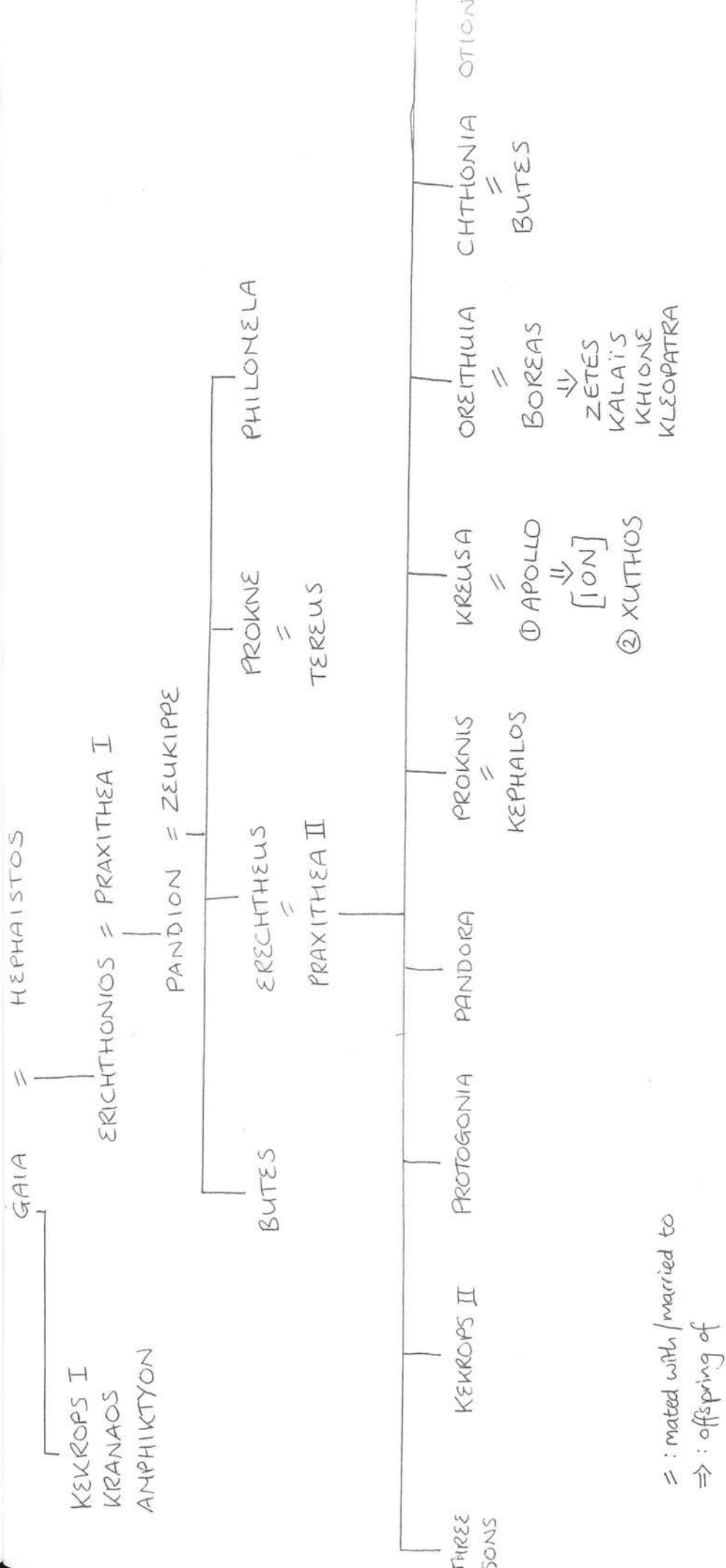


Genealogical table 1: The Winds in Creation and Early Myth.

= : mated with

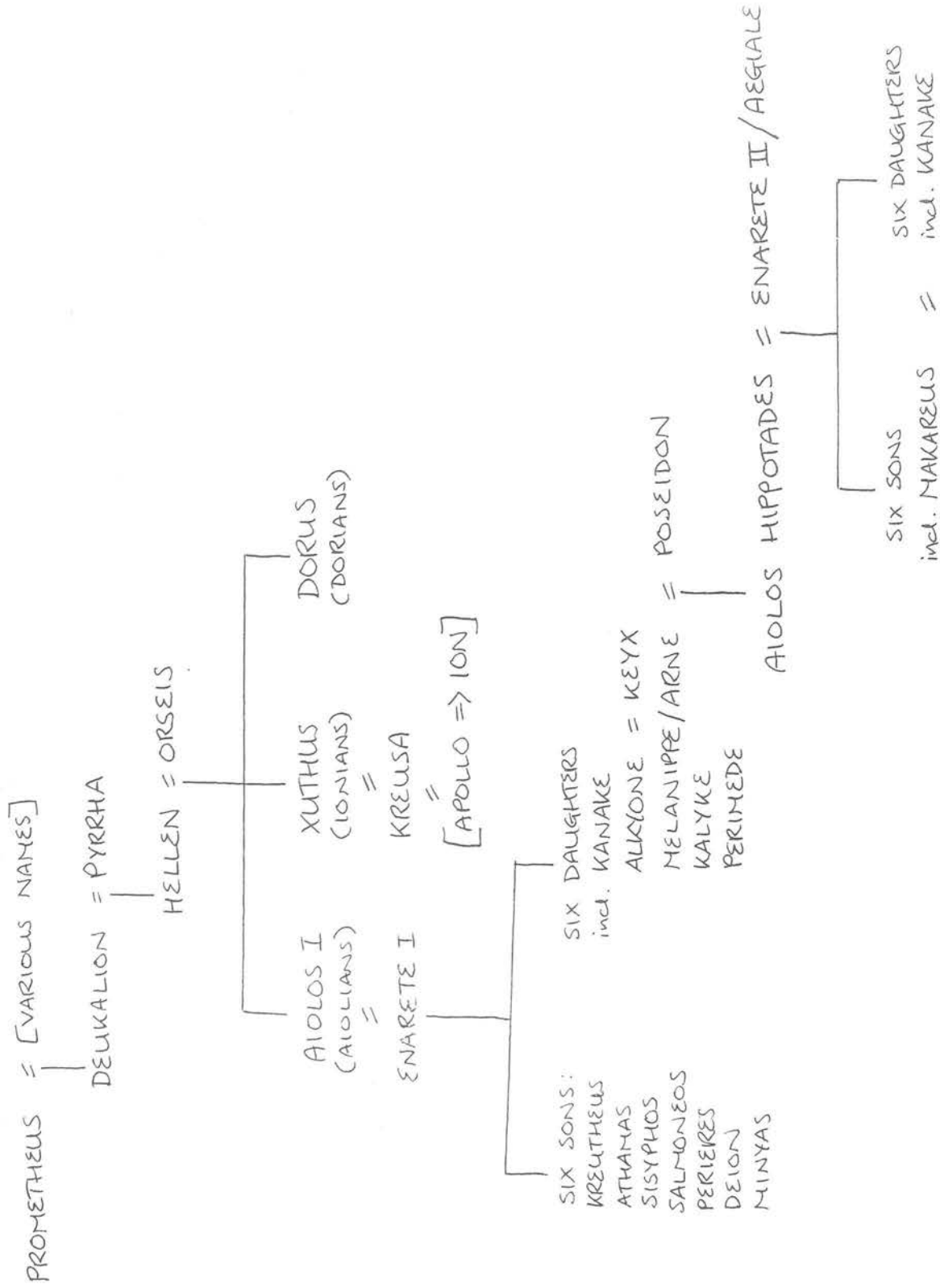


Genealogical table 2: The Winds and their Loves.



= : mated with / married to
 => : offspring of

Genealogical table 3: The Erechtheid/Athenian Line.



≡ married to

Genealogical table 4: The House of Prometheus.

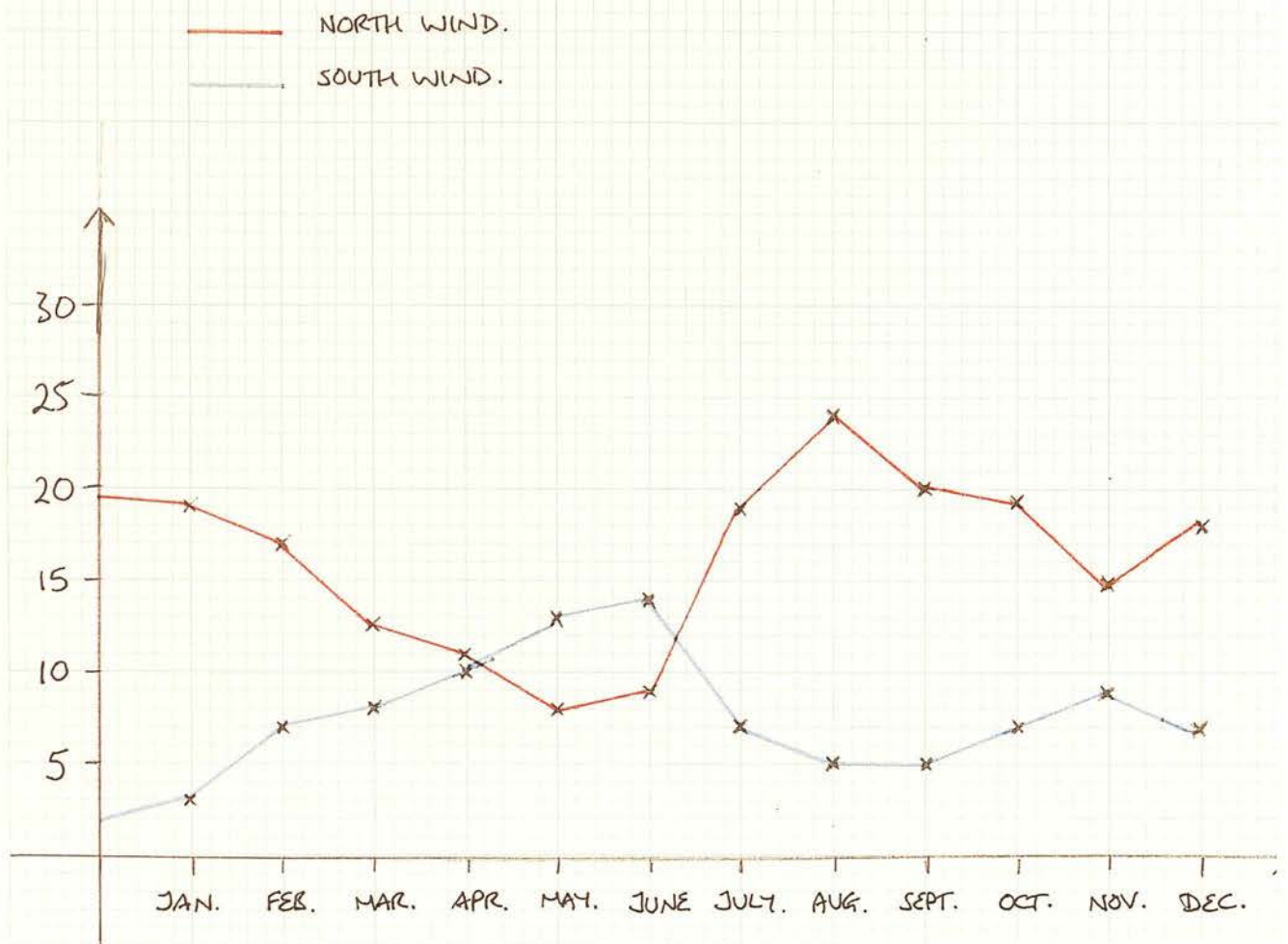


Table 1 : The North and South Winds at Athens.



Table 2 : The West Wind at Athens.

<u>Name of Wind</u>	<u>Direction</u>	<u>Etymology of Name</u>
Africus	SW	"African wind"
Amneus	SW	?
Apeliotes	E	"from under the sun"
Apollonia	E	from the Hellespont
Aquilo	NNE	"watery"
Arctos	N	from the northerly constellation The Bear
Argestes	WSW	"son of Astraios" (starry sky)
Auster	S	"hot"
Berecynthias	E	from Phrygia
Boreas	NNE	"dusky"
Cataportmias	E	from the strait of the same name
Caunias	N	a harbour-wind at Rhodes, blows from Caunus
Caurus/Corus	NW	Celtic name for a wind
Circius	WNW	the Mistral; named because it goes around Southern Gaul and Italy
Euronotos	SSE	"east-south"
Euros	ESE	either "parching", "dawn-region" or "breezy"
Favonius	W	"favourable wind"
Hellespontias	E	from the Hellespont
Iapyx	NW	from the River Iapygae in Apulia
Idyreus	N	from the island Idyris
Kaikias	ENE	from the river Kaikias (?)
Leukonotos	SSW	"clear-weather damp wind"
Libonotos	SSW	"Libyan-damp wind"
Lips	SW	"Libyan wind"
Marseus	E	from the village Marsus
Meses	NE	"middle wind"
Notos	S	"wet"
Olympias	NNW	from Pierian Olympus
Pagrus	N	from the parallel mountain ranges of Pagrica
Pharangites	WSW	from a gorge of the same name at Pangaeus
Phoenikias/Phoenix	SSE	"Phoenician wind"
Phrygia	WSW	from Phrygia
Petionos	E	from a Phoenician river-plain
Scylleticus	WSW	from the place Scyllitum
Septentrio	N	is an old northern constellation (the seven-star team)
Skiron	NNW	from the Skironides Rocks
Skopelos	SE	from the Rhodian stag (<i>iskopeliso</i>)
Stromantus	NNW	from the Stromon River
Subsolarius	E	"from under the sun"
Succidat	E	is at the southern foot of the Taurus and Rhodian mountains
Theraps	NE	from the Thracian plain
Thrakius/Thracius	NNW	"Thracian wind"
Voluturnus/Vulturnus	SE	wind from Monte Vulture in Apulia
Zephyrus	W	"west-wind"

Table 3: Names and Etymology of the Winds.